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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

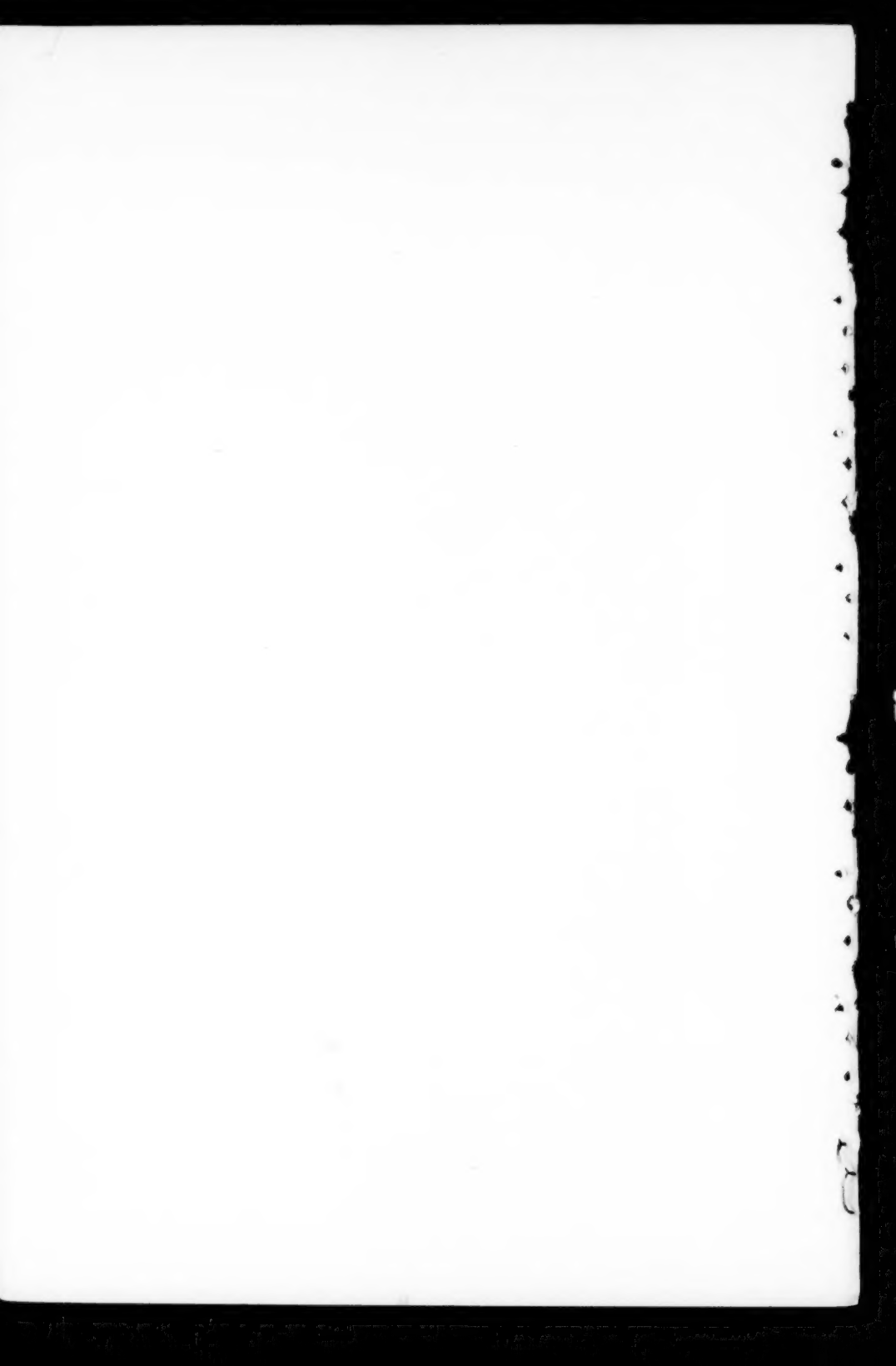
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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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VOLUME XXXI

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NUMBER 3

## ARTICLES

Proverbes en rimes (*B*) GRACE FRANK 209

An Anonymous Work on Poisons Addressed to Charles of Orléans  
LYNN THORNDIKE 239

Le Verger des images de Saint François de Sales  
ELISABETH M. RODRIGUE 242

Little-Known Sources for the Study of the Eighteenth-Century French  
Theatre CLARENCE D. BRENNER 254

Marivaux and Musset: *Les Serments indiscrets* and *On ne badine pas  
avec l'amour* EDNA C. FREDRICK 259

Violence as a Technique in the Dramas and Dramatizations of Dumas  
*père* JARED WENGER 265

Sur une biographie de Byron ayant appartenu à Stendhal  
THOMAS R. PALFREY 280

## REVIEWS

Elda Bossi, *La Canzone d'Orlando*; F. Th. A. Voigt, *Roland-Orlando  
dans l'épopée française et italienne*; Italo Siciliano, *Le Origini delle  
canzoni di gesta: teorie e discussioni*. [MARIO A. PEI] 285

---

Abraham ibn Ezra, <i>The Beginning of Wisdom</i> . Edited by Raphael Levy and Francisco Cantera. [LEON W. ROSENBERG]	292
Helaine Newstead, <i>Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance</i> . [GRACE FRANK]	293
A. F. B. Clark, <i>Jean Racine</i> . [HENRI PEYRE]	296
Franco Venturi, <i>Jeunesse de Diderot (de 1713 à 1753)</i> . [A. E. A. NAUGHTON]	299
K. de Schaepdryver, <i>Hippolyte Taine: Essai sur l'unité de sa pensée</i> . [HORATIO SMITH]	301
Bernardo Xavier C. Coutinho, <i>Bibliographie franco-portugaise: Essai d'une bibliographie chronologique de livres français sur le Portugal</i> . [TOMÁS NAVARRO]	304
William J. Entwistle, <i>The Spanish Language, Together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque</i> . [MARIO A. PEI]	304
Books Reviewed	309

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## PROVERBES EN RIMES (B)

### INTRODUCTION

WHEN in 1937 a manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery of Baltimore was published with the title *Proverbes en rimes*, reference was made to a longer and somewhat later manuscript in the British Museum, Additional 37527, and an edition was promised of all those stanzas in the latter which do not appear in the former. The following text represents an attempt to fulfill that promise. For a description of the two manuscripts and a fragment of a third (*W*=Walters; *B*=British Museum; *G*=Gap fragment), for a study of their relations, dates, illustrations, etc. and for a discussion of various literary, artistic and linguistic questions that concern them all, the reader is referred to the volume just mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

The stanzas published today, like those published previously, betray the disillusioned wisdom of the common man: they do not praise virtue so much as warn against vice. Their flavor is slightly acrid and their counsel strictly practical. To succeed in this world one must be wary; one must not aspire too high, but respect one's betters; wise maidens should not spurn old men, for these tend to be kind to young wives; money represents a sovereign good ("par argent on est amoureux, sans argent on est douloureux")—and so on. It has been suggested that our verses should be likened to Christine de Pisan's *Enseignements*, and that they too were intended for children.<sup>2</sup> But as M. Cons keenly observes,<sup>3</sup> these sceptical stanzas lack the confident, optimistic morality that characterizes Christine's lines: they are but negatively preoccupied with the virtues. It should also be added that many of their themes are distinctly adult and that the cynical treatment of certain moral and religious problems could hardly commend itself to parents in search of a book for young people (cf. *W* XIX, XXVII, CXIII; *B* 45, 59, 77, 79, 81, etc.).

In the edition of *W* the three manuscripts of our proverbs were tentatively assigned to southeastern France, and the importance of the region about Lyons as a center for the making of popular, illustrated books

1. *Proverbes en rimes. Text and Illustrations of the Fifteenth Century from a French Manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore*. By Grace Frank and Dorothy Miner, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1937.

2. See E. Droz in *Humanisme et Renaissance*, v (1938), 159, 161.

3. *RR*, XXIX (1938), 391-393.

was indicated (pages 31, 25-26). Mlle Droz (*op. cit.*, pages 159 ff.) has plausibly suggested that they may be more definitely localized in the northern part of the ancient duchy of Savoy, and her hypothesis receives some confirmation from the stanzas of *B* printed below. Although the arms of Savoy which she thought to have detected in *W* do not appear anywhere in *B*, her identification of "Bredane" with Bredannaz on the Lac d'Annecy, coupled with the appearance in *B* of such forms as *bosse*, *paroche*, *pougin*, *setour*, *tra*, perhaps *plane* (cf. the Glossary) and the presence in both *B* and *W* of the words *lasaigne* and *pacher* (cf. the Glossary of *W*) would seem to point to this region as the original home of our texts.

The lines of the present edition have been numbered consecutively for convenience, but the modern foliation of the manuscript is indicated and the old numbers of the pages, which correspond to the old numbers of the stanzas (see Plate CLXXXIII of *Proverbes en rimes*), have been retained so that, with the help of the Appendix published on pages 105-110 of *Proverbes en rimes*, the reader can readily reconstruct the complete text of *B*. It should be noted, however, that this Appendix does not indicate the stanzas at the end of *B* which are not in *W*. These are the stanzas that bear the old page numbers 328-344, 347-354 (numbers 345 and 346 are missing) and that appear today on folios 139 v-151 v. Their lines are here numbered 857-1056 and they immediately follow the last stanza (CLXXXII) of *W*. Four stanzas of *B* which are not in *W* (165, 170-172) reappear in *G*; the only variants of the latter that are not orthographical are noted in our text.

For various reasons it has not been practical to reproduce the drawings of *B*. These are described, however, whenever they aid in the interpretation of the text, and three of them appear on Plates CLXXXIII-V of *Proverbes en rimes*.

Several stanzas which impressed some former reader have the exhortation in the margin beside them *Nota* (333) or *Nota quar (est) valde utilis* (93, 135=W XXIX). The indications *acteur* and *personnage* have the same implications in *B* as in *W* (cf. *Proverbes*, pages 8-9). In stanza 106 we find *L'acteur et le personnage*, but there are no examples in *B* of the other speakers who appear in *W*: *Le Medecin*, *La Femme*, etc. A number of proverbs in *B* are divided between pairs of stanzas, the last line of one stanza being a continuation of the last line in the previous stanza. These lines usually rhyme with each other, but not always. See the notes to stanzas 60-75, 336-341, and cf. also *W*. iv-v, xxxii-xxxiii.

Many of the linguistic traits noted in *W* (cf. *Proverbes*, pages 31 ff.) are represented in *B*: *prins*, *mengu*, confusion of *-ar* and *-er*, etc. In addition the forms *poursuyvir*, line 189, *ensuyvir* 191, and *suyvir* 811 deserve mention. Spellings and rhymes indicate silent final consonants in *esploy* (=exploit): *foy* 605; *jou* (=joug): *loup* 640; *filers* (=filets) 946. Rhymes in *-our* are separate from those in *-eur* (stanza 220) and the etymological development of stressed long *o* is indicated in *queuvre* 499, *desqueuvre* 687, *treuve* 47, etc. *Nesgier* (=nager) 823 probably represents a scribal idiosyncrasy.<sup>4</sup>

GRACE FRANK

*Bryn Mawr College*

4. For generous help in solving a number of difficult problems in the text the editor wishes to record her deep sense of gratitude to M. Lucien Foulet and Professor Leo Spitzer.

1. TEXT<sup>1</sup>

39. <i>L'acteur</i>	<i>fol. 1 r°</i>	43. <i>L'acteur</i>	3
Ung patissier doit soirs et mains		Il appartient a ung chappuis	
Mettre paine, et je luy en pryé,		D'approprier tresbien son bois,	
D'avoir beaulz bras et belles mains		Et s'il fait de divers pertuis,	
Pour ouvrer en patisserie.	4	Comme il advient aulcunesfois,	36
D'avoir hoste a chiere marrye		D'aulcuns larges, d'aultres estrois,	
Nous ne devons jamais serchier,		Qu'ilz soyent rons comme une bille,	
N'aimer celluy qui trop varie,	8	Et qu'il appreste toutesfois	
Ne d'avoir roigneux patissier.		A tel pertuis telle cheville.	40
40. <i>L'acteur</i>	<i>v°</i>	44. <i>L'acteur</i>	<i>v°</i>
Ung homme qui a tenir bestes		C'est ung homme tout frenatique!	
Treuve le mestier profitable,		Comme ung chat borgne, despiteux,	
S'il a pour les tenir honnestes,		Tousjours a combatre s'applique,	
Sa cause est assez raisonnable;	12	Tant est fier et iniqueux.	44
Mais s'il n'a logis convenable		De bataillier n'est pas honteux	
Pour les logier, il est infame:		Sy souvent qu'il n'en scet le nombre,	
De peu despesche son estable		Et s'il ne treuve ung ryoteux,	
Qui son asne donne a sa femme.	16	Il se va combatre a son ombre.	48
41. <i>L'acteur</i>	2	45. <i>Le Personnage</i>	4
C'est ung homme de grant pratique		Pour estre ung souverain ivroigne,	
Qui est fort avarricieux		Ne crains homme qui barbe porte!	
Et n'est pas trop bon catholique,		De bien boire n'est pas vergoigne—	
Quoy qu'il samble devocieux.	20	Aux bons buveurs je m'en rapporte.	52
Il fait moult bien du mermiteux		Puis que j'ay vin de bonne sorte,	
En donnant pour Dieu une maille,		Je m'en donray bien et a droit,	
Mais du cuer il est rappeineux		Car en ung point me reconforte,	
Et fait a Dieu barbe de paille.	24	C'est c'on dit: qui bien boit, Dieu voit.	56
42. <i>L'acteur</i>	<i>v°</i>	46. <i>L'acteur</i>	<i>v°</i>
Plusieurs gens sont larges et frans		Qui n'a bon sens, chevance ou rente,	
Et a despendre fort pretendent		Pratique ne quelque mestier,	
Robes, joyeaulx, escus et francs,		Ne de riches parens l'attente,	
Mais que du leur rien ne despendent.	28	Ne say a quoy il fait mestier,	60
A estre liberal contendent,		Car il ne sauroit besoignier	
Affin que leur largesse on voye,		Bonnement n'a pié n'a cheval:	
Mais quant les plus grans dons s'estendent,		Il est tout propre pour forgiar	
C'est d'altruy cuir large corroye.	32	Œuvre de singe, peu et mal.	64

1. The old numbering of the stanzas has been kept. For the relation between this, the modern folio numbers, the stanza and folio numbers of *W* and of *G*, see *Proverbes en rimes*, pp. 105-110.

47. *L'acteur*  
C'est ung homme sans conscience  
Qui ne pourroit voir son dommage.  
Il scet employer sa science  
A amasser pour son mesnage,  
En usant de plaisant langage,  
Soit de Guillot ou de Collin.  
Il en prent a son avantage  
Et tire l'eaue en son moulin.
48. *L'acteur*  
Qui se prent a plusgrant de soy,  
A paine y puet il resister,  
Mais s'en treuve en tresmauvaix ploy;  
Myeulx vouldroit de soy desister,  
Car quant<sup>s</sup> son jars cuide getter  
Contre ung plusgrant, il s'en destourne,  
Et sy mal le scet eviter  
Que sur luy mesme se retourne.
49. *L'acteur*  
C'est ung plaisant metal qu'argent:  
Plusieurs en sont fort desireux.  
De sa nature il est sy gent  
Qu'il fait tout cuer d'homme joyeux.  
Par argent on est amoureux,  
En donnant dons riches et beaulx;  
Sans argent on est douloureux:  
Qui a argent, il a chappeaulx.
50. *L'acteur*  
C'est ung homme a qui il ne chault  
Fors que d'avoir biens a foison:  
Tout luy est ung, soit froit ou chault,  
Mais qu'il ayt plus que sa raison.  
Du dommage en quelque saison  
De son prochain ne luy chault rien,  
N'a qui se brulle la maison,  
Mais qu'il s'y puist chauffer tresbien.
51. *Le Personnage*  
Qui te fait demander l'ausmonne  
Quand je suis premier demandeur?  
Or tien, tien, tien! Je la te donne:  
Tu seras premier recepveur  
Et tu seras donc recouvreur,  
Se le grant deable ne t'emporte.  
C'est ung gros cas de la fureur  
De deux coquins a une porte.
52. *L'acteur*  
Cestuy est bien fol de nature  
Qui voit la belle guodinette  
Qui se presente a l'aventure,  
Affin qu'en langage le mette:  
Garde n'a qu'il s'en entremette,  
De peur qu'il ne l'acquire mye.  
Pour ce dit on en la rimette:  
Ja couart n'aura belle amye.
53. *L'acteur*  
Quant l'ung avecq l'autre s'entend,  
L'œuvre en est mieulx faite a son aise,  
Mais quant l'ung au contraire tend,  
Ja ne feront chose qui plaise.  
Il fault que l'ung l'autre complaise  
En tous lieux d'ung costé et d'autre,  
Car c'est signe de tresmauvaise  
Saison quant l'ung loup mengu l'autre.
54. *Le Personnage*  
Pour une bonne mesnagiere  
Je ne suis pas grant fileresse,  
Ne de bien filer usagiere,  
Mais tantost en seray maistresse:  
J'apprens, affin qu'en ma jeunesse  
D'aulcuns ne soye reffusee:  
Qui amasser veult grant richesse,  
Commencement n'est pas fusee.
55. *L'acteur*  
Qui grant desir a de savoir  
Quelque chose sciencieuse,  
Et le maistre bien sache avoir  
Par maniere soulacieuse.  
Soit par pryere gratieuse  
Ou par joyeaulx a luy donnez,  
Tant soit la chose precieuse,  
Il luy tire les vers du nez.
56. *L'acteur*  
Quant on a povre marchandise  
Et de la rompre on a grant doubte,  
S'il la fault mener a Venise  
Ou en Flandres, et elle est roupte,  
Le marchant qui le sien y boutte  
N'y gaignera ne bien ne beau,  
Car je cuide que plus luy couste  
La corde que tout le fardeau.

57. *L'acteur*  
 Tousjours l'ung bien l'autre requiert  
 Et l'ung plaisir doit l'autre attraire.  
 Pour bien faire, ung grant bien acquiert  
 Cil qui a bien se veult retraire.  
 Ce que par l'ung ne se puet faire,  
 Fault qu'il se face par ung aultre,  
 Affin de pourvoir a l'affaire,  
 Et pour ce l'ung barbier ret l'autre.
58. *L'acteur*  
 Quant on a bien a besoignier  
 Avecq homme pesant en main,  
 Qui ne serche que d'esloignier  
 La chose de huy a demain,  
 Puis c'on le treuve sy loingtain,  
 On n'en aura ja bon marchié,  
 Car on puet dire pour certain  
 Qu'il maine la truye au marchié.
59. *L'acteur*  
 Ung homme qui son cas entend  
 Pour bien conduire et gouverner,  
 S'il est povre, a gaignier pretend,  
 Moyen treuve de s'yverner:  
 Les riches suyt pour les plumer  
 Et, en faisant du papelart,  
 Ung grain d'orge ose bien semer  
 Affin d'attrapper ung malart.
60. *L'acteur*  
 On doit bien aviser deux fois  
 Avant c'on dye une parolle  
 Dangereuse en aulcuns endrois,  
 Affin c'on ne la contrerolle.  
 Celluy a bien la teste folle  
 Qui sa langue sy mal conduit  
 Qu'elle le destruit ou affolle,  
 Car on dit que trop parler nuyt.
61. *L'acteur*  
 On ne doit pas trop fort serchier  
 Ce qui n'est pas en sa saison,  
 Ne du fait d'aultruy s'empeschier,  
 Mais plus tost garder sa maison.  
 Qui trop s'approche du charbon,  
 Se brulle et doit bien estre instruit  
 Que trop enquerre n'est pas bon,  
 Et aussy que trop grater cuit.
62. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy qui sens a et science  
 Doit apprendre a soy maintenir  
 En conservant sa conscience,  
 Et a bienfais la main tenir.  
 Qui les moyens veult poursuyvir  
 De temporiser aujourd'uy  
 Et les gens sages ensuyvir,  
 Belle doctrine prent en luy.
63. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy qui aulcun voit mesprendre  
 Et il cognoit la mesprison,  
 En soy mesme se doit reprendre  
 Affin d'eviter la prison.  
 Quant on voit la pugnicion  
 Qui vient de malfaire et l'ennuy,  
 Il a bonne condicion  
 Qui se chastye par aultruy.
64. *L'acteur*  
 Ung homme est bien fol a son tour  
 Qui pour le puissant contrefaire  
 Cuyde abatre une grosse tour  
 De l'espaule et puis la reffaie.  
 Celluy qui entreprenent affaire  
 Ou quelque chose qu'il promet,  
 S'il n'a puissance de la faire,  
 De grant folye s'entremet.
65. *L'acteur*  
 Cest homme icy a la main dure,  
 On le puet voir a sa maniere.  
 Il fiert et maille et tout endure  
 Sans la daignier tirer arriere.  
 Qui ne l'a de forte matiere  
 Plus que fer, il est bien jaquet,  
 Et subget a la folatiere,  
 Qui de son poing fait ung maillet.
66. *L'acteur*  
 Qui trop s'avance, on le reboute  
 Plus loings qu'il ne fut oncques mais,  
 Et ung aultre en son lieu se boutte,  
 Qui luy oste le premier mais.  
 Monter a coup est tresmauvais,  
 Car souvent tresbuchier on voit  
 Quelq'ung sans faire aulcuns forfais  
 Qui plus hault monte qu'il ne doit.

67. *L'acteur*

Celluy qui treuve ayde et faveur  
Pour avoir quelque avancement,  
Et par grant lacheté de cuer  
Ne luy en chault aulcunement,  
On le reboute tellement  
Pour l'assortir mieulx a son droit  
Qu'en la fin miserablement  
Plus bas dessend qu'il ne voudroit.

68. *Le Personnage*

N'ay je pas bien la teste folle  
De lire en latin entreprendre,  
Quant oncques ne fus a l'escole,  
Dont on me devoit bien reprendre?  
On doit premierement apprendre  
La science a quoy on pretent,  
Car substance ne puet comprendre  
Celluy qui lit et rien n'entent.

69. *L'acteur*

Cil qui va souvent a la chasse,  
Posé qu'il ne preigne tousjours,  
Au mains quelque fois quant il chasse,  
Il prent cerf, lievre, biche ou ours;  
Mais de ceulx qui usent leurs jours  
En chasse, et pluye les sourpent,  
Le plus malcontent de telz tours  
C'est cil qui chasse et rien ne prent.

70. *Le Personnage*

Je suis en ceste tour jolye,  
Moult belle dehors et dedens,  
Mais g'y meurs de melancolye,  
Car on m'y tient malgré mes dens.  
D'en saillir briefment je pretens;  
Sans cause ne la mesprise on,  
Car certes, a ce que j'entens,  
Oncques ne fut belle prison.

71. *L'acteur*

Ce qui plaist est demy vendu:  
Amours n'ont regart ne demy,  
Tout est ouï et entendu,  
Puis que plaissance fiert parmy.  
L'ung sert tousjours l'autre a l'amy,  
Grace n'y est pas endormie,  
Car oncques ne fut lait amy  
Ne, pareillement, laide amye.

15

72. *L'acteur*

Pour l'estommacq bien gouverner,  
Il est necessaire et licite  
Tous les jours devant desjeuner  
Se faire ung petit d'exercite,  
Et pour degestion plus vite,  
Affin que l'appetit on gaigne  
Et mauvaises humeurs evite,  
Au matin serchier la montaigne.

228

232

v°

236

240

16

244

248

v°

17

73. *L'acteur*

Bien prendre au matin son repas  
Est a l'estommacq profitable,  
Et après aler aux esbas,  
A quelque chose delictable.  
Serchier ausy est convenable  
Au vespre vyande legiere,  
Affin qu'au corps ne soit grevable,  
Et après soupper la riviere.

272

280

v°

284

288

19

292

296

v°

300

304

300

304

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77. *Le Personnage*  
 Puis que mon amy prent les champs  
 Et va en estrange contree,  
 S'il ne revient dedens brief temps,  
 Plus n'en seray enamouree.  
 Ung aultre aura vers moy entree,  
 Sans avoir regret ne demy,  
 Car, par ma foy, la demouree  
 Trop longue fait changier amy.
78. *L'acteur*  
 Pour reffaire une vielle beste  
 Qui ne craint plus l'esperonnier,  
 Affin qu'elle soit plus honneste,  
 Il fault ung gentil palfrenier  
 Pour la frotter et estrillier,  
 Et quant il a tout labouré,  
 Encor fault il, pour l'abillier,  
 A vielle mulle frain doré.
79. *L'acteur*  
 La bourgeoise de basse taille  
 Qui sa vye a en joye usee,  
 Affin que le bruit ne luy faille  
 Et du tout ne soit refussée,  
 S'elle est de quelq'ung emparee,  
 De bagues fault plaine une bouge,  
 Et pour estre de chief parée,  
 A vielle putain chappron rouge.
80. *Le Personnage*  
 Tout homme doit avoir grant doubte  
 De trouver quelque encombrement:  
 A l'heure que mains on s'en doubte  
 Sovient aulcun empeschement.  
 Ou celluy qui m'empesche ment,  
 Ou il m'a lourdement grevé,  
 Fraudé et trompé meschamment,  
 Car il m'a prins a pié levé.
81. *L'acteur*  
 La bonne amour enracinee  
 En deux cuers par benivolence  
 Ne puet estre tantost finée  
 S'on l'entretient sans vyolence,  
 Car on voit par experience  
 Que pour l'amour du chevalier  
 Benignement en son absence  
 Baise la dame l'escuier.
82. *L'acteur*  
 Qui se veult entremettre  
 D'une œuvre tost ou tart  
 De quoy il n'est pas maistre,  
 Se fait sembler musart.  
 On luy doit dire a part:  
 'Laissez ceste pratique!  
 Qui ne scet faire l'art,  
 Doit serrer la boutique.'
83. *L'acteur*  
 L'omme trop liberal,  
 Qui n'a d'argent plain poing  
 Pour aler a cheval,  
 Doit souvent prendre soing  
 D'acquérir pres ou loing  
 Revenue nouvelle,  
 Car il n'a pas besoing  
 De vache qui tart vesle.
84. *L'acteur*  
 Quant quelque riche homme fait faire  
 Une maison sy sumptueuse  
 C'on met grant temps a la parfaire,  
 L'œuvre en est bien plus ennuyeuse,  
 Pesante et melancolyeuse,  
 Tant qu'aulcun murmurant s'en rit,  
 Disant en parolle envyeuse  
 Que c'est le pont du Saint Esprit.
85. *Le Personnage*  
 Quant bien je regarde a mon fait,  
 On m'a joué de tromperie;  
 Ne say qui ce puet avoir fait,  
 Toutesfois c'est sans moquerie.  
 On m'a brassé a l'estourdye  
 Ung terrible cas et nouveau,  
 Car je voy bien que, quoy c'on dye,  
 La queue n'est pas de ce veau.
86. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy qui se veult resjouir  
 Du duel d'aultruy, soir ou matin,  
 Ou qu'il prent plaisir a ouyr  
 Mesdire, entend mal son latin:  
 Bien doit redoubter tel brassin,  
 Car qui maison neuve ou ancienne  
 Voit ardre a son prochain voisin,  
 N'est pas asseuré de la sienne.



87. *L'acteur*  
 Qui enfans veult bien gouverner,  
 Les doit chastyer et reprendre  
 Et bien souvent endoctriner  
 A œuvre vertueuse apprendre.  
 S'ilz reffusent de la comprendre  
 Par nonchallance ou coquardie,  
 A les battre on ne puet mesprendre,  
 Car qui bien aime, bien chastye.
88. *L'acteur*  
 Ung homme a qui l'entendre fault  
 A besoing d'ung grant prothocolle,  
 Mais a bon entendeur ne fault  
 Que demy quartier de parole:  
 L'esperit a sy vif qu'il volle,  
 Il ne luy fault rien enseigner;  
 Il scet, sans aler a l'escolle,  
 Peu parler et bien besoignier.
89. *L'acteur*  
 Aulcuns sont sy grans raffardeurs  
 Que chascuns fuit leur compaignie.  
 De leurs faulx propos sont fardeurs  
 Pour affiner simple mesnye.  
 Par faintise et hoquelerie  
 De sy grans falasses contreuent  
 Qu'ilz font par leur grant jenglerie  
 A croire que les lievres œfvent.
92. *L'acteur*  
 Qui en soy chergant se descharge  
 Esgualment en gardant son droit,  
 Sans entreprendre plus grant cherge  
 Que l'avantage qu'il reçoit,  
 Il mestionne sy a droit,  
 Quant il a bien tout compassé,  
 Qu'en payant de ce c'on luy doit  
 Fait de la terre le fossé.
93. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy qui marier se veult  
 Doit regarder ou il se prent,  
 Car desmarier ne se puet,  
 Se d'aventure il se repent.  
 Aler n'y doit sy chauldement  
 Qu'il reçoive ung grant coup d'estrille,  
 Mais qui ouvrir veult sagement,  
 De bonne mere prent la fille.
- 25 94. *L'acteur*  
 Qui diligemment servira,  
 Soit a la table ou aultre part,  
 Bon salaire deservira
- 388 Et d'aulcuns biens aura sa part;  
 Mais cil qui est lasche en son art,  
 En grant povreté doit finer,  
 Car bien souvent ung fol cornart
- 392 Sert de moustarde après disner.
- v° 97. *L'acteur*  
 Larrons, murtriers, briguans,  
 Qui ont peur de leur peau,  
 Doivent tenir les champs
- 396 (C'est pour eulx le plus beau)  
 Et esloignier chasteau  
 Ou on tient gens en gage:  
 Il vault mieulx estre oyseau
- 400 De bois qu'oyseau de cage.
- 26 98. *L'acteur*  
 A d'aulcuns honneur faire  
 Sont œuvres bien petites;  
 Ce n'est pas leur affaire:
- 404 Estre en voudroient quites.  
 On y pert ses merites  
 Souvent a grans monceaux:  
 On ne doit marguerites
- 408 Semer devant pourceaux.
- v° 105. *L'acteur*  
 Pour mousttrer denrees  
 Et vendre plus chier,  
 D'estre appropriees
- 412 L'esfait despeschier,  
 Savoir fault preschier  
 Et les mettre au vent,  
 Paintre et reffreschier,
- 416 Car qui paint, sy vent.
- 27 106. *L'acteur et le personnage*  
 Cil qui va amont et aval  
 A la foire et par maint marchié  
 En dos sur ung mesgre cheval,
- 420 S'en treuve le cul escorché.  
 Je congnois que j'ay desmarchié  
 Tres meschamment de ma maison,  
 Car autant vault aler a pié
- 424 Comme chevalchier ung baston.
- v°
- 428
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- v°
- 444
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- v°
- 460
- 464

107. *Le Personnage*  
 Helas, or suis je sy viellote  
 Que n'ay membre qui bien se vueille.  
 Toutesfois fault il que je trote  
 Sy fort que tout le corps s'en dueille,  
 Et affin qu'aucun bien recueille,  
 Mes habis fault souvent crotter,  
 Trablant comme en l'abre la fueille,  
 Car besoiing fait vielle trotter.
108. *L'acteur*  
 C'est a ung serviteur  
 Grant vice et dommagable  
 Qu'i n'est a son seigneur  
 Diligent et constable.  
 Celluy n'est profitable,  
 Mais a tresmal aprins,  
 Qui va fermer l'estable  
 Quant les chevaux sont prins.
109. *L'acteur*  
 A gens de bien affiert  
 En tout temps d'eviter  
 Ung fol qui frappe et fiert:  
 Nul n'y puet profiter.  
 On les doit rebouter  
 Et chastyer tresbien,  
 Car, a bien tout notter,  
 Fol qui fiert ne vault rien.
110. *L'acteur*  
 On doit baillier gouvernement  
 De gens ou biens espreciaux  
 A quelque homme d'entendement,  
 Qui ait nom d'estre des loyaux,  
 Ou autrement, s'il est des faulx,  
 On ne puet plus mal hebergier:  
 Il destruit tout, tant fait de maulx,  
 Car on a fait du loup bergier.
111. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy qui en son parlement  
 Scet dire aucun propos qui point  
 Et le queuvre sy sagement  
 Que de mal on n'y entend point,  
 S'il scet proposer bien a point  
 Son cas en affaittez langages,  
 Bien taillié est par quelque point  
 De dire ung mot a deux visages.
- 34 112. *L'acteur*  
 Qui d'enfants a maistrise  
 Et la correction,  
 En doit bouter d'eglise,  
 S'ilz ont l'affection,  
 Car c'est m'entencion  
 Que tresbonne est la case  
 Pour augmentacion  
 Ou il a teste rase.
- 468 119. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy qui veult vendre cerises,  
 Pommes, poires ou aultre fruité,  
 Ou de pareilles marchandises,  
 Dont plusieurs gens font la poursuite,  
 Affin qu'a profit soit deduite  
 Sy bien que le marchand ne perde,  
 Baillier doit par bonne conduite  
 Entre deux meures une verde.
- 472 120. *L'acteur*  
 Aulcuns ont de nature  
 Le cuer en la cuisine  
 Pour conquerer pasture,  
 Desir les y incline.  
 De sausse cameline  
 Vouldroyent bien taster,  
 Car qui naist de geline,  
 Doit volentiers gratter.
- 476 141. *L'acteur*  
 Qui pour certains profits,  
 Plain de grant convoitise,  
 Va mengant crucifis  
 Par cuer vain qui l'attise,  
 On le doit sans faintise  
 Reprendre en temps et lieu,  
 Car il est pres d'eglise  
 Et assez loings de Dieu.
- 480 142. *L'acteur*  
 Tel cuide bien prendre d'aguet  
 La chose qu'il a entreprinse,  
 Mais partye a fait sy bon guet  
 Qu'il a failly a s'entreprinse.  
 Il la treuve sy mal comprinse  
 Par cautelle qui le baratte  
 Qu'il puet bien dire 'adieu la prinse',  
 Car son chat n'a pas bien prins ratte.
- 484 500 504
- v° 508 512 40 516 520 v° 524 528 51 532 536 v° 540 544

147. *L'acteur*  
 Qui n'a grant chevence a despendre  
 Doit regarder comme il la taille  
 Et peu a peu sy bien l'estendre  
 Qu'il n'ayt faulte de la vitaille,  
 Sy que povreté ne l'assaille  
 Par trop la destruire ou derompre,  
 Affin qu'au besoing ne luy faille,  
 Car il vault mieulx tirer que rompre.

148. *L'acteur*  
 Servant ne doit pas estre  
 Triste n'avoir douleurs  
 Des despens de son maistre:  
 Ce sont pures foleurs,  
 Car dons de grans seigneurs  
 Ou choses despendues  
 Que pleurent serveiteurs,  
 Ce sont larmes perdues.

165. *L'acteur*  
 Tout est subject a mort,  
 Soit vieulx ou jouvenceau:  
 C'est celle qui tout mort.  
 Il n'y fault point d'appreau,  
 Et n'y<sup>3</sup> a lait ne beau  
 Qui excuser se sache:  
 Aussy tost meurt le veau  
 Ou plus tost que la vache.

166. *L'acteur*  
 Quant plusieurs femmes sont ensamble,  
 Principalment de viellotes,  
 Maint divers propos sy assamble  
 Et y chante on de plusieurs notes:  
 L'une veult parler de ryotes,  
 L'autre a douleur et se complaint;  
 A bien escouter leurs chaquotes,  
 Chascune vielle son dueil plaint.

167. *L'acteur*  
 Qui a bon loz et bonne fame,  
 A bel affiner, s'il est fin,  
 Sans avoir peur c'on le diffame,  
 Car chascun l'aime de cuer fin.  
 S'il veult user de faulx latin,  
 Simples gens puet desterminer:  
 Qui a nom de lever matin,  
 Se puet dormir jusqu'a disner.

3. Il n'y G.

54 168. *L'acteur* v°  
 Quant quelq'ung sans sens ou avis  
 Plusieurs veult blamer et reprendre,  
 Les bons n'escoutent telz devis,  
 548 Car plaisir n'y pourroyent prendre. 588  
 Lors tant que gorge puist estendre  
 Veult raillier sans raison aulcune,  
 Mais le sage n'y doit entendre,  
 552 En disant: 'il jappe a la lune.' 592

v° 169. *L'acteur* 65  
 Pour robe ne pour vestement  
 Le sens de l'omme ne se moustre;  
 Tel va vestu bien simplement  
 556 Qui est notable homme tout oultre. 596  
 Posé qu'il ne fait pas grant moustre,  
 Il est souffisant et idoine,  
 Et par ses œuvres bien demoustre  
 560 Que l'abit ne fait pas le moine. 600

63 170. *L'acteur* v°  
 Celluy qui par esprouve  
 Est de mauvais aloy  
 N'a mestier c'on l'esprouve,  
 564 Changier ne puet son ploy. 604  
 Tousjours fait bon esploy  
 Soubz son chappel de bievre  
 Et d'aussy bonne foy  
 568 Que le loup mengu chievre. 608

v° 171. *L'acteur* 66  
 Celluy qui apperçoit  
 Ung tresmauvays passage,  
 Reculer il se doit,  
 572 Aultrement n'est pas sage. 612  
 Qui veult faire ung voyage  
 Ou a aultruy meschiet  
 Et gaignier le payage,  
 576 Qu'i n'y va, il n'y chiet. 616

64 172. *L'acteur* v°  
 Ung faintif et malicieux  
 Qui moustre samblant d'estre amy,  
 En faisant fort du gratieux,  
 580 Non obstant qu'il est ennemy, 620  
 Nul ne se doit fyer en luy,  
 Car par sa grant decepcion,  
 En lieu d'amour<sup>4</sup> procure ennuy:  
 584 Il fait comme l'escorpion. 624

4. En l. d'avys G.

211. *L'acteur*  
 Qui en adversité  
 Languist et en martire,  
 N'a pas capassité,  
 Contraint est de le dire.  
 Souvent va serchant mire  
 Et complaindre se veult,  
 Car tousjours langue tire  
 La ou la dent se deult.
212. *L'acteur*  
 Naturellement chascun poursuit  
 Ce qui luy touche mieulx au cuer.  
 Cocquin en bribes se deduit  
 Et en bon vin le bon buveur;  
 Ribault en trippes prent douleur,  
 Et aussy voit on que le loup,  
 Pour sentir du beuf la sauveur,  
 Lesche moult volentiers le jou.
220. *L'acteur*  
 Raison ne regne pas tousjours,  
 On la reboute en lieux plusieurs;  
 La justice n'a pas son cours  
 Par l'empeschement des faveurs,  
 Mais en ces marchés ou ailleurs  
 N'en fault ja trop estre esbaÿs,  
 Car volenté d'aulcuns seigneurs  
 S'appelle droit en leurs paÿs.
221. *L'acteur*  
 C'est quelq'ung qui a bien de quoy  
 Et on veult avoir de ses biens,  
 Sans dire occasion pour quoy,  
 Car il n'a offendu en riens;  
 Il est prins et mis en lyens,  
 Et puis dit on en brief conseil  
 Que par ses cauteleux moyens  
 A pissé contre le soleil.
222. *L'acteur*  
 Seigneurs par leur puissance  
 A ung foible courage  
 Font moustrer grant vaillance,  
 Combatre et faire rage;  
 Mais plus beau vassellage  
 Font, foy que doy saint Pol:  
 Ilz font d'ung fol ung sage  
 Et d'ung sage homme ung fol.
- 86 223. *L'acteur*  
 Le sage procure  
 Sagesse jolye,  
 Le joyeux n'a cure  
 628 De melancolye. 668  
 Nature les lye  
 Selon leur raison;  
 Quant fol ne folye,  
 632 Il pert sa saison. 672  
 v°
225. *Le Personnage*  
 Je suis mieulx couchié a mon aise  
 Que sur la plane de Mengieve.  
 Labourer est chose mauvaïse,  
 636 Car le traveil trop fort me grieve. 676  
 Qui aura commencé, achieve,  
 Se tout devoit estre gasté.  
 Pardonnez moy, se ne me lieve:  
 640 D'eau froide suis empasté. 680  
 90v°
226. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy n'a guiere a faire,  
 Mais pert bien sa saison,  
 Qui emprent tel affaire  
 644 (Dites moy la raison; 684  
 A quelle occasion?):  
 Puis d'ung costé, puis d'autre,  
 Desqueuvre une maison  
 648 Pour en couvrir une aultre. 688  
 91
228. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy qui n'a acoustumé  
 D'estre mis en subgection  
 Devroit estre tantost fumé,  
 652 S'on luy baille correction. 692  
 Puis que toute s'affection  
 A franche liberté s'attache,  
 Laissez le en son infection:  
 656 A tart vient vieulx chien a l'estache. 696  
 v°
229. *Le Personnage*  
 Se mon pourpoint ne fust sy court,  
 Mes chausses s'en portassent mieulx,  
 Mais c'est l'usance de la court  
 660 Et aussy de moult d'aultres lieux. 700  
 Il me couvendra, se m'ist Dieux,  
 Serchier affin que je m'attache,  
 Tant que je treuve pour le mieulx  
 664 A courte chausse longue attache. 704

230. <i>L'acteur</i>	v°	285. <i>L'acteur</i>	118
Qui n'a assez pour vivre		Qui en grant court s'yverne	
Doit prendre paine et soing		Doit espier souvent	
De pourchasser sa livre		Comment on s'y gouverne,	
Et la mettre en ung coing,	708	S'il y court bise ou vent.	748
Afin que pres ne loing		Qui en avancement	
Ne luy faille maschier:		Peu a peu ne se lanse,	
Qui du feu a besoing,		Se treuve en cassement,	
Au doit le va serchier.	712	Car il vit en balance.	752
281. <i>L'acteur</i>	116	286. <i>L'acteur</i>	v°
Qui tient pocession		En d'aulcuns a peu de fyance,	
D'une belle closture,		Quant ilz veullent jouer de faintes.	
Soit par sucession		Tel a en aultruy confyance	
Ou par coup d'aventure,	716	Qui est bien loings de ses attaintes.	756
Avoir y doit parture,		Amitiés y sont sy estaintes	
Car cil qui tient la cloche		Que leur secours ne vault deux blans,	
Doit estre par droiture		Car ilz ont les propres empraintes	
Curé de la paroche.	720	Du cheval a quatre piés blans.	760
282. <i>L'acteur</i>	v°	287. <i>L'acteur</i>	119
Une requeste ne plaist pas		C'est dommage quant bon vouloir	
Qui a quelque dommage tourt.		N'est employé aulcunement.	
On a beau parler hault ou bas,		Tel se voudroit faire valoir	
Le remede s'y treuve court.	724	Qui ne treuve a quoy ne comment.	764
L'ung fait le fol, l'autre le lourt;		Cest homme est en grant pensement	
Le supplyant n'en puet jouir.		Comment il pourra besoignier;	
Pour ce n'est il sy mauvais sourt		Puis qu'il n'a aultre avancement,	
Que celluy qui ne veult oÿr.	728	Il pise l'eau en ung mortier.	768
283. <i>L'acteur</i>	117	288. <i>L'acteur</i>	v°
Jamais n'est charge sy petite		Quant ilz sont deux ensamble,	
Sur beste foible et mal tenue		Comme souvent advient,	
Qu'elle n'en vouldist estre quite,		Et que l'ung des deux emble,	
Se tout deust tumber en la rue,	732	Et l'autre le sourvient	772
Et en son courage s'argue,		Tellement qu'il luy vient	
Quant on luy croist tousjours sa charge.		Tenir chandelle ou torche,	
Elle a droit, car qui continue,		Autant fait cil qui tient	
De peu a peu l'asne se charge.	736	Le pied que cil qu'escorche.	776
284. <i>L'acteur</i>	v°	289. <i>L'acteur</i>	120
Povre homme infortuné		Qui entretenement,	
Se treuve en tous estas		Ne gratieux maintien,	
Souvent mal desjuné,		Ne prent aulcunement	
Prenant petit repas.	740	Avecques gens de bien,	780
S'il expose son cas,		Tout son fait vient a rien,	
On y treuve a redire:		Car nul ne le courage.	
Riche homme ne scet pas		Qui mal veult a son chien,	
Que povreté veult dire.	744	Luy boute sus la rage.	784

290. *L'acteur*  
 Quant Fortune se veult moustrer,  
 Elle œuvre merveilleusement.  
 En peu d'heure l'ung fait monter  
 Et avoir grant gouvernement,  
 L'autre pourvoit sy povrement  
 Qu'il n'a pas vaillant ung barreau.  
 A l'ung transmet beau parement  
 Et au malheureux le carreau.
291. *L'acteur*  
 Tel congnoit en aultruy deffault  
 Qui en soy-mesme a tresmal nette  
 La conscience, et pour ce fault  
 Que premier regime en soy mette,  
 Car s'il advient qu'il s'entremette  
 D'aulcun blamer, on luy dira:  
 'Tel voit en l'œil d'aultruy buchette  
 Qui au sien ne voit ung gros tra.'
292. *L'acteur*  
 Daguettes dangereuses,  
 Qui fort a garder sont,  
 Et choses pondereuses  
 Tost perdues s'en vont,  
 Se folles gens les ont  
 A mener par charriere,  
 Car de fol sur ung pont,  
 Tambour<sup>s</sup> en la riviere.
303. *L'acteur*  
 Qui veult honneur acquerre,  
 Doit serchier s'aventure  
 Et suyvir juste guerre  
 Selon son estature.  
 Pour grant soufferte et dure  
 Ne fault qu'il se reculle,  
 Car qui ne s'aventure,  
 Il n'a cheval ne mulle.
304. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy qui est bien maintenu  
 De quelque vaillant bachellier  
 Et en tous ses faits soustenu  
 A beau combatre et bataillier.  
 Il n'a pas peur d'estre en dangier,  
 Car contre tous le deffent on:  
 Il peut bien hardiment nesgier  
 A qui on soustient le menton.
305. *L'acteur*  
 Qui se veult mesler de peschier,  
 Ne doit pas esmouvoir grant bruit:  
 Il ne se puet myeulx empeschier,  
 Car le poisson tantost s'enfuyt;  
 Il y demourroit jour et nuyt,  
 Avant qu'il en preist ung seulet.  
 Il est simplement introduit,  
 Cil qui va peschier au maillet.
306. *L'acteur*  
 Cest homme n'est pas sage  
 Ne plain de grant cautelle.  
 On le voit a l'ouvrage  
 De quoy souvent se mesle.  
 L'œuvre n'est pas trop belle  
 Dont treuve la fasson:  
 Il gaste la chandelle  
 A serchier le mouchon.
307. *Le Personnage*  
 Entre vous, gens de bien,  
 Qui avez biens a tas,  
 Sur tout gardez les bien  
 Jusqu'a vostre trespas.  
 Usez en par compas,  
 A vostre beau loisir;  
 Ne vous despoulliés pas  
 Devant qu'ailliés gesir.
308. *L'acteur*  
 Celluy qui tient pour son amy  
 Quelque fin hoste bas devant  
 Sy fort qu'il le treuve ennemy,  
 Moulit cautelleux et decepant,  
 Il luy puet comme bien sachant  
 Donner boire a pareille coupe,  
 Car c'est le droit d'ung tel marchant  
 De luy faire de tel pain soupe.
328. *L'acteur*  
 Quant on voit quelque coquillart  
 Qui par force de hault cryer  
 Ou par estre ung maistre raillart  
 Plusieurs gens cuide mestryer,  
 On ne le doit jamais pryer,  
 Mais laisser japper hault ou bas—  
 On ne le puet mieulx chastyer:  
 Tel jappe fort qui ne mort pas.

329. *L'acteur*  
 En vieulx grenier garny de grain  
 Et ung bon lardier au plus pres,  
 En vielle aulmaire ou a du pain  
 Et de frommage vieil ou fres,  
 En arche ou les pertuis sont fais,  
 En chambre ou escolliers se gualent  
 Et en setours vieulx et deffais,  
 Ou il n'a chat, rattes y balent.
330. *L'acteur*  
 C'est ung fin homme et bien rusé,  
 Qui faulx propos comprennent en soy  
 Dont maint simple homme est abusé,  
 Qui trop va a la bonne foy,  
 Car il n'entend pas le pourquoy.  
 Celluy grant revire-baton  
 Fauslement sans moustrer de quoy  
 Serche les cinq piés de mouton.
331. *L'acteur*  
 Qui de parler veult entreprendre,  
 Doit compasser son parlement,  
 Affin c'on ne le puist reprendre  
 En disant: 'cil qui parle, ment.'  
 Myeux se vault taire sagement  
 Et que la parolle se serre  
 Que de parler trop largement,  
 Car celluy qui ne parle, n'erre.
332. *L'acteur*  
 Plusieurs treuvent chevanee faite  
 Qui la mettent en nonchaloir  
 Et, deust estre du tout deffaite,  
 De la maintenir n'ont vouloir.  
 Le buef ne puet jamais savoir,  
 Tant soit sa science estendue,  
 Que sa corne luy puet valoir  
 Jusques a tant qu'il l'a perdue.
333. *Le Personnage*  
 Je ne say de qui il me chault,  
 En regardant tous les estas;  
 Tout m'est ung, face froit ou chault,  
 Povreté ou biens ung grant tas.  
 Soit guerre ou paix, noise ou esbas,  
 Ou de gens de froit morfondus,  
 Il me chault tousjours hault et bas  
 Autant des rez que des tondus.
- 140 334. *L'acteur*  
 L'omme qui entreprenent  
 Besoigne trop loingtaine  
 Est fol s'il ne comprend  
 Qu'elle est tres incertaine.  
 Quant la sent trop haultaine,  
 Habandonner la doit,  
 Car il pert bien sa paine,  
 Celluy qui bat a froit.
- 868 335. *Le Personnage*  
 Quant j'ay biens a plaisance,  
 Je parle comme ung jay.  
 S'il me vient desplaisance,  
 J'en ay dueil et esmay.  
 Peu de gens ont cuer gay,  
 Quant leurs biens s'ammenuyent.  
 Par mes feves je say  
 Comment les alutruy cuisent.
- 872 336. *L'acteur*  
 Simple homme estre sans conseil  
 Grant gouverneur et profitable,  
 L'ung visage a l'autre pareil,  
 N'ung affamé dormant a table,  
 Ung parfait vilain amyable,  
 N'en mauvaise bosse bon vin,  
 N'ung grant mensongier veritable,  
 On ne trouvera ja en fin.
- v° 337. *L'acteur*  
 On dit—mais je ne le croy pas—  
 Que Dieu faillit moult grandement  
 Quant il composa par compas  
 Le monde et toute le firmament,  
 Car nous trouvons communelment  
 Hommes plains de soubtil engin,  
 Mais on ne treuve nullement  
 Sage femme ne gras pougin.
- 876 338. *L'acteur*  
 Quant on a quelque cas  
 Difficile a conduire,  
 On doit prendre advocas  
 Qui la sachent deduire,  
 Car celluy qui veult nuyre,  
 En faisant le prudomme,  
 Pour plus tost le destruire  
 Prent par la langue l'omme.
- 880 900 904 908 912 916 920 924 928 932 936 940 944

339. *L'acteur*  
 Pour beste ou oyseau prendre  
 On tend filers et las.  
 De soubtilz tours comprendre  
 Ja ne fault estre las,  
 Car par joyeux esbas,  
 Comme cil qui se sorne,  
 La beste est mise bas  
 Et le buef par la corne.
340. *L'acteur*  
 Tout homme doit bien redoubter  
 D'estre infortuné en ce monde,  
 Car sy fort s'en voit rebouter  
 Qu'il tumbé en povreté profonde;  
 Il ne treuve nul qui responde  
 Pour luy a sa partye adverse,  
 Mais fault qu'en cryant se confonde  
 Contre Fortune la diverse.
341. *L'acteur*  
 Quant ung charretton mal habile  
 Conduit grant charge ou grans bagages  
 Et il ne scet pas bien le stile  
 D'eschever les mauvaix passages,  
 Il boit souvent de durs bruvages,  
 Que sa propre coulpe luy verse:  
 Quant charrettons ne sont pas sages,  
 Il n'est charrette qui ne verse.
342. *L'acteur*  
 Qui d'amours la legende  
 Vouldra bien escouter  
 Et estre de sa bende,  
 La fin doit redoubter;  
 Et qui ne veult gouter  
 Buvrage a telles couppes,  
 Ne doit jamais bouter  
 Le feu pres des estoupes.
343. *L'acteur*  
 Ung bon cousturier,  
 En maintz lieux congneu,  
 S'il veult besoignier,  
 Est tresbien venu.  
 Pour ce, quant j'ay veu  
 Que plusieurs j'abille,  
 Je me suis pourveu  
 De fil et d'esguille.
344. *L'acteur*  
 Vrays amoureux et grans chasseurs  
 Ne sont pas d'une conjecture:  
 L'amoureux aime les doulceurs  
 D'une amoureuse creature;  
 Le chasseur aime par nature  
 La chasse pour le plaisir sien;  
 Et ces deux quierent par droiture  
 Amour de femme et rys de chien.
347. *L'acteur*  
 Tout, soit homme ou beste,  
 Le lieu ou est né  
 Bon treuve et honneste  
 Et bien ordonné.  
 Tel qu'il l'a trouvé,  
 Soit vieulx ou nouveau,  
 Ne ou qu'il soit couvé,  
 Son nyt luy est beau.
348. *Le Personnage*  
 En aulcuns ay eu grant fyançe  
 Qui m'ont tresbien baillié du lart,  
 Car tout a coup sans deffyançe  
 M'ont joué ung tour de renart:  
 Ilz m'ont en publique et a part  
 Sy bien contrerollé au vray  
 Et m'en suis apperceu sy tart  
 Que j'en suis Martin de Cambray.
349. *L'acteur*  
 Ung homme qui se vante fort  
 Et fait samblant de faire rage,  
 Non obstant qu'il n'est guiere fort,  
 Il faint d'avoir ung fier courage  
 Et est sy remply de langage,  
 Par parolles sy fort serrees,  
 Qu'entre simples gens de village  
 Il mengu charrettes ferrees.
350. *L'acteur*  
 Quant aulcuns ont par grant malice  
 Perpetré quelque forfaiture,  
 Et il advient que par justice  
 L'ung d'yeulx se treuve en closture,  
 On luy presente la torture  
 Pour savoir qu'ilz ont empasté.  
 S'il le confesse d'aventure,  
 Il a descouvert le pasté.



351. <i>L'acteur</i>	150	353. <i>L'acteur</i>	151
Cest homme vient d'une bataille		Tel entreprend petit affaire	
Afin de moustrer sa valeur,		Pour eviter d'acquérir blame;	
Mais il a receu d'une taille		Tel n'ose le gros contrefaire	
Sur le nez par coup de maleur.	1028	Pour doute qu'aucun ne le blame;	1044
Puis se retrait pour le meilleur,		Tel desire avoir bruit et fame	
De cuer douloureux et marry,		Sans le sien trop a mal ruer;	
Car on dira par sa foleur		Tel bat aulcunesfois sa femme	
Il est des moutons de Berry.	1032	Qui ne la voudroit pas tuer.	1048
352. <i>L'acteur</i>	v°	354. <i>L'acteur</i>	v°
On ne danse pas volentiers		Il ne scet pas bien qu'honneur monte,	
Devant disner a ventre vuyt,		Celluy qui se ravale tant	
Ne nul ne veult jouer au tiers,		Que son serviteur le surmonte	
On n'a cure de tel deduit,	1036	Et luy mesme en est consentant.	1052
Mais s'on a usé pain bien cuit,		Jamais n'yra en augmentant,	
Vin et vyande a habondance,		Ne ne sera bon gouverneur,	
On danseroit jusqu'a la nuyt,		Car l'hospital va conquestant	
Car de la panse vient la danse.	1040	Qui de son serf fait son seigneur.	1056

2. NOTES ON THE PROVERBS<sup>1</sup>

- Stanza 39.* Cotg. s.v. *pastissier*: better no pies, than pies made with scab'd hands.
40. Not found. In the picture a man leads an ass from the stable and gives the beast to his wife.
41. Cotg. s.v. *barbe* (faire b. de foarre à) and *gerbe* (faire g. de f. à Dieu): to deceive, abuse, etc. Cf. Morawski, *Archivum rom.*, xxiii (1939), 79. Our picture shows a man with a large rosary at his belt handling the (straw) beard of a haloed figure (God). Mol. 256.
42. Mor. 453. Cotg. s.v. *cuir*: to spend freely on another man's purse . . . Mol. 110.
43. Cf. Cotg. s.v. *cheville*: a chasque trou une c., for every fault an excuse, etc.
44. Cotg. s.v. *ombre*: to fight with his own shadow, to be angry to no purpose . . .
45. Mor. 1839.
46. Cotg. s.v. *œuvre*: an idle, foolish, lewd or impure act.
47. Cotg. s.v. *moulin*: to procure his own gain, without any respect of others' just interest.
48. Cf. ZRP, lvi (1936), 432 and note on 438: Qy cuntre le ciel crache, sur la teste ly revent; Le R. II, 387: Qui crache en l'air reçoit le crachat sur soy; D'Ambra, *Prov. ital.* 335: Chi sputa in su, lo sputo gli torna sul viso; Apperson 596. In the illustration a man with head thrown back receives his own spittle in his face.

1. For sources cited in abbreviation, see *Proverbes en rimes*, pp. 85-86. In addition, Mol. followed by a number refers to the table of proverbs in Molinet's *Faits et Dicts*, ed. Dupire, S.A.T.F., vol. III, 1939, pp. 1217 ff.

49. Cotg. s.v. *chapeau*. Cf. Mor. 1778.
50. Apperson 72: He will burn his house to warm his hands; see the example cited there from Caxton's *Reynard*.
51. Cotg. s.v. *coquin*: "a proverb meant as wel of the ordinary jarring and thwartings that passe between two ambitious competitors as of the scoulding . . . made by two . . . beggars at a man's door." In the picture one beggar menaces another before the door of a house.
52. Cotg. s.v. *couard*: faint heart never wonne faire lady. Mol. 191.
53. Cotg. s.v. *loup*: hard is the time when wolves do feed on wolves.
54. Cotg. s.v. *commencement* and *fusée*: things are not done as soon as begun, etc. Mol. 97.
55. Cotg. s.v. *tirer* and *ver*: to pump or draw secrets out of, etc.
56. Cotg. s.v. *corde*: said when the charges of law, or traffick, etc. exceed the principall, or diminish one's stock.
57. Cotg. and Oudin, s.v. *barbier*: un meschant excuse l'autre. Mol. 368.
58. Cf. *Oxf.* 183: He would go a mile to flit (transport) a sow, said of those "who would take any pretence to go from their proper business," and Wander s.v. *Sau\** 382. In the picture a man urges a sow forward while the beast looks back at two piglets.
59. Cotg. s.v. *orge* (where *pigeon* supplants *malart*): to give or lose a little in hope of getting much.
60. Mor. 2428. On 60 and 61 see Cotg. s.v. *grater*: the two proverbs often occur together.
61. Mor. 2426.
62. Cf. Apperson 697: he is wise that follows the wise, but cf. 63 of which this may be merely a part.
63. Mor. 314, 2265: buer se chastie qui par autrui se chastie.
64. Cf. Mor. 1726 (Prometre sanz donner est a fol conforter) and Cotg. s.v. *promettre*. This is seemingly a variant, though it may be merely complementary to 65.
65. Cotg. s.v. *poing*: . . . to be ignorant of the right use of things. . . . In the picture a man is using his clenched fist as a mallet to drive a tool.
- 66-67. Mor. 2091: qui plus haut monte qu'il ne doit, De plus haut chiet qu'il ne voldroit.
- 68-69. Cotg. s.v. *lire*: autant vaut celuy qui chasse et rien ne prend, comme celuy qui lit et rien n'entend. Cf. Mor. 1687.
- 70-71. Cotg. s.v. *prison*: oncques n'y eut laides amours, ny belle prison. For l. 257, see the note to stanza 105.
- 72-73. Cotg. s.v. *mont*: au matin vers les monts, au soir vers les fonts, a morning's walke up the hill, in the evening downwards.

- 74-75. Not found. Cf. Le R. I, 235: un homme riche n'est jamais vieil pour une fille; *Oxf.* 63: Better be an old man's darling, than a young man's warling. In the pictures the lady is receiving gifts and food from the *viellart*.
76. Mor. 1835.
77. Mor. 1140 (var.).
78. Cotg. s.v. *mule*: said in derision of an old woman that paints and pranks herself. Cf. Mol. 32.
79. Not found. Could a pun be intended and *chappron rouge* be related to *chapeau rouge*? Cf. Cotg. s.v. *chapeau*: on luy a fait porter le ch. r., they have cut off his head. In the picture a woman, who stands holding a little dog, wears a red headdress.
80. Cotg. s.v. *piéd*: to snap up in words, . . . to trip a man unawares, etc.
81. Mor. 1674.
82. Cotg. s.v. *boutique*.
83. Cf. Mor. 93: a ome euros son beuf li vele, and Cotg. s.v. *vache*, *veller*: la vache du riche velle souvent, celle du povre avorte.
84. Not found. The picture shows two men at work on an unfinished bridge.
85. Mor. 338 and Cotg. s.v. *queue*.
86. Mor. 2190.
87. Mor. 1836.
88. Cotg. s.v. *parler*. Cf. Mor. 105.
89. Cotg. s.v. *lievre*.
92. Mor. 524.
93. Cf. Mor. 2318, 548, to which our proverb may be related. Mother, daughter and prospective husband appear in the picture.
94. Cotg. and Oudin s.v. *moustarde*, Le R. II, 203: help when danger . . . hath left us; une chose inutile, hors de temps.
97. Le R. I, 190.
98. Matthew VII, 6. Cotg. s.v. *pourceau*, *semer*: semer des roses aux pourceaux, to throw pearl before swine.
105. Cf. Cotg. and *D.C.* s.v. *vendre*. Cotg.: toute chose se vend au pris de l'oeil de l'homme; Mor. 392: chose qui plaist est demy vendue. The illustration represents an artist, brush and paint-pot in hand, touching up a picture of four figures that probably represent saints.
106. Cotg. s.v. *baston*: as good go a foot as ride on a lean jade. The picture shows a dandified man striding a long stick.
107. Mor. 236; Mol. 60.
108. Mor. 149, 151, 1747; Mol. 4.

109. Not found. In the picture a fool, raised stick in hand, is about to strike a man.
110. Cf. *D.C.* s.v. *loup*: donner les brebis à garder au loup, mettre une chose en une main infidèle. Cf. Terence, *Eun.* v, 1, 16: ovem lupo committere, and Apperson 702, 17.
111. Cotg. s.v. *visages*: mot à deux v., a word of a doubtfull sence, . . . an equivocation.
112. Not found. The picture suggests the meaning: the house is well provided where there is a tonsured head. Around a table laden with food and drink sit eating and drinking a man, a woman, a boy (?) and a monk. A man nearby is pouring liquor from a jug.
119. The usual form is: entre deus verz, la tierce (une) meure. Cf. Mor. 693, 694 and Cotg. s.v. *meur*; Mol. 150.
120. Cotg. s.v. *geline*, *grater*.
141. Mor. 1930.
142. Cf. Mor. 73, Oudin and *D.C.* s.v. *chat*: a bon (mal) chat, bon (mal) rat = à trompeur, trompeur et demi. The illustrations of 142 and 143 are reversed in the MS: our man with the cat from which two rats are escaping is pictured over 143 (and the sick man of that stanza over 142).
147. Mor. 1290 (var.).
148. Mor. 1774. Cf. Cotg. s.v. *larme*: in vaine doe groomes deplore their master's bounty.
165. Mor. 201.
166. Mor. 345; Mol. 86.
167. Mor. 1802. Cf. Cotg. s.v. *lever*.
168. Cf. Cotg. s.v. *abbayer*: il a. contre la lune.
169. Mor. 1053 (var.).
170. Cotg. s.v. *foy*: il y va aussi à la bonne f. que le loup qui mangea la chevre.
171. Cotg. s.v. *cheoir*. Cf. Mor. 2015, 2030.
172. Littré (*Dict.*) cites an apposite text about the scorpion "qui volt deriere poindre et devant conjoir." Cf. also Chaucer's Merchant's Tale 814: Lyk to the scorpion so decyvable, that flaterest with thyn head, when thou wolt styngge, Pierre Michault, *Doctrinal du temps present*, line 331, La Curne de Ste. Palaye, s.v. *oindre*, and *L'Hystore Job*, 958-961. In the picture a scorpion welcomes a man with his nippers but stings him with his tail.
211. Mor. 1039.
212. Mor. 1672: pur la duçur del bef leche le leu le *pruail*, but cf. *Romania*, I (1924), 510 where Mor. notes that "le proverbe catalan correspondant nomme le *joug*."

220. Le R. II, 435: volonté n'est que droit. Cf. Cotg. s.v. *vouloir*: que veut le Roy, ce veut la Loy.
221. Le R. I, 132: offenser ses amis ou ses protecteurs.
222. Not found, though many proverbs balance wise men and fools.
223. Mor. 792.
225. Cotg. s.v. *eau* and *pestri*: paistre d'eau froide, white-livered, dull, fearfull, without spirit, without metall. (Oudin s.v. *eau* has: il est petry d'eau froide, "d'humeur ou de nature froide," but Cotg.'s meaning is that of our text.) The picture shows a man lying abed.
226. Cf. Cotg. and Oudin s.v. *descouvrir*: decouvrir Saint Pierre pour couvrir Saint Paul (Oudin: desrober à l'un pour donner à l'autre). In the picture a man on a ladder between two houses is transferring the roof of one to the other.
228. Cf. Mor. 2472, 1532, 1688 and variants.
229. Mor. 22; cf. 67.
230. Mor. 1812 (cf. variants).
281. Not found. The rhyme may indicate a regional proverb. Cf. Littré (*Dict.*) s.v. *clocher*: un curé n'a besoin d'autre titre que de son clocher pour demander ses dîmes. The picture shows a curé ringing the bell of a church.
282. Mor. 940.
283. Not found, though various proverbs seem related. Cf. Le R. II, 286: de peu de cas vient chose grande; *id.*, 370: petit à petit on va bien loing; Oudin s.v. *petit*: petit à petit la pie fait son nid; Mor. 1037: la sorsome abat l'arne (cf. ZRP, LVI [1936], 429). Cf. also Mor. 1615, 1625 and Apperson s.v. *Little*. In the picture a man is adding a stick to the load of his ass.
284. Cf. Mor. 1354, 2209.
285. Cotg. and Oudin, s.v. *balance*, give "estre en balance," to doubt, waver, . . . be uncertain . . . and estre en suspens. The picture shows a large pair of scales in one of which a man is sitting.
286. Cotg. s.v. *cheval, blanc*: a companion that promises much, and performs nought or such a one as fails his friend at a pinch; Oudin s.v. *cheval*: un extravagant, un grand prometteur. Cf. Villon, *Lais*, I. 29 and Thuasne's edition, II, 6. The picture merely shows a man riding a dark horse with four white hoofs.
287. Cotg. s.v. *eau*: piler l'eau en un mortier, to lose time, to spend it very fondly.
288. Mor. 137; Cotg. s.v. *escorcher*, the assistant is as guilty as the actor, etc. In the picture one man skins an animal whose feet are being held by another.

289. Mor. 2146; Mol. 303.
290. This stanza seems an elaboration of the general medieval conception of the instability and variation of Fortune symbolized by her wheel (cf. l. 787 with Mor. 764: Fortune torne en petit d'eure). See also Apperson 231; H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Med. Lit.*, Cambridge, 1927. The picture shows a group of men on the roof of a house shooting with bows and arrows at a group, similarly armed, in the street. One of the latter lies on the ground with an arrow through his breast. Cf. below, note to §340.
291. Matthew VII, 3. Cf. Mor. 2377.
292. Cf. Cotg. s.v. *tambour*: un fol dessus un pont c'est un tambour en la riviere, a fool on a bridge is a drum in the river, viz. makes it resound by his madde thumping, leaping or dancing over it; and Apperson 223: a fool on a bridge soundeth like a drum. But this does not gloss our stanza or suit the illustration (a fool plunging from a bridge into a stream—no drum is shown). The implication here seems to be that if a fool stands on a bridge, his drum falls into the river.
303. Cotg. s.v. *cheval*: he that hazards nothing, winneth nothing, etc.
304. Mor. 2263 (var.): Cotg. s.v. *nager*. The picture shows a swimmer whose head is being held above water by another man.
305. Cotg. s.v. *maillet*: foolishly to . . . make a great bruit of a project thereby discovering . . . it.
306. Cotg. s.v. *chandelle*: to spoyle much in search after a little.
307. Oudin s.v. *despouiller*: se despouiller avant que de se coucher, "donner ses biens devant sa mort."
308. Cotg. s.v. *soupe*: said when a babler is put downe with words, a lyer confuted by his own allegations, a deceiver over-raught . . . etc.
328. Cotg. s.v. *chien*, *japper*, Oudin s.v. *abbayer*.
329. Mor. 1563 and var.
330. Cotg. s.v. *cercher*: curiously to seek for more at a man's hands than he is able to performe; *D.C.* s.v. *mouton*: on dit d'un homme qui veut tirer d'une chose plus que ce qu'elle peut fournir qu'il cherche cinq pieds à un mouton. The picture sheds no light on *revire-baton*: a man seated before a four-legged sheep is searching for a fifth leg.
331. Cotg. s.v. *errer*.
332. *Oxf.* 425: the cow knows not what her tail is worth till she hath lost it.
333. Cf. Cotg. s.v. *rez* and Le R. II, 21, who give the same explanation for the origin of this proverb, i.e. a pun on the name of the powerful Rez family.
334. Cotg. s.v. *batre* (*à froid*): to work out a thing with great pains . . . , as a smith, that frames a thing out of cold iron, etc. Cf. the complementary

proverb ("Strike while the iron is hot") which occurs in *W*, lines 871-872.

335. Not found. In the picture a man stands in front of a large pot on a fire, sampling his beans, a dipperful in his left hand, a spoon in his right.
336. Cf. Villon's *Ballade des contre-vérités* for a clever treatment of this type of contradiction. Cotg. s.v. *vin* has en vaisseau mal lavé ne peut on vin garder, and *Oxf.* 16: a liar is not believed when he speaks the truth, but our author probably assembled a series of *contre-vérités* in this stanza without seeking for proverbs. The illustration merely shows a house with the word "Fin" over the door. It may be that the last line of 336 was regarded as part of the proverb of 337: note the rhyming lines and the procedure in the two following stanzas.
337. Related to Mor. 1340: ne gras poucin ne sage Breton. Cf. variants cited in *Romania*, XLVIII (1922), 525, n. 5 (ne prodomme de limosin), where, however, the *femme* of our version does not appear.
- 338-339. Cotg. s.v. *bœuf*: "le bœuf par la corne et l'homme par la parole; Prov. *se lient* is understood (for in forraine countries oxen are yoked by the horns)." Cf. Mor. 1588: par les cornes loye on les buelfz.
- 340-341. Cf. Le R. II, 277: contre fortune la diverse / N'y a si bon char qui ne renverse, and above, note to §290. Here Fortune is pictured turning her wheel.
342. Cf. Mor. 85, 1082, 1496.
343. Cf. Oudin and Cotg. s.v. *fil*: fourni de fil et d'aiguille, "préparé à tout."
344. Cf. Mor. 83: amour de femme et ris de chien / Ne valent riens, qui ne dit: tien. See Cotg. s.v. *amour* for another version.
347. Cf. Mor. 16 and Cotg. s.v. *nid*.
348. Martin de Cambrai, one of the two clock-strikers of the Cathedral of Cambrai, is represented by Rabelais as *ceinct sur le cul*, by *Les Quinze Joies de mariage*, as *saint sur le baudray*, and by our illustration as a peasant tightly belted around the hips. Apparently he symbolizes a figure of ridicule here. Cf. Sainéan, *Langue de Rabelais*, I, 424 and La Curne de Saint-Palaye s.v. *Martin* (9): [la figure] de Martin représente un paysan . . . qui porte sur ses reins une ceinture qui le serre bien fort; de la vient que d'un homme ridiculement serré de sa ceinture . . . on dit . . . qu'il est ceint sur le cul comme Martin de Cambrai. Here he has been duped; cf. *Pathelin*, lines 368-369 and Holbrook's note (ed. *CFMA*, 1937) to *chalemastre*.
349. Cotg. s.v. *charrette*: mangeur de c. ferrées, a terrible cutter, swaggerer . . . one who will kill all he sees and eat all he kills.
350. Cotg. and Oudin s.v. *pasté*: he hath found out the mystery; l'invention, la malice.

351. Cotg. s.v. *mouton*: c'est un mouton de Berry, il est marqué sur le nez, he hath gotten a rap over the nose (whereon the shepherds of Berry mark their sheep). Cf. Oudin s.v. *mouton*. and Le R. I, 318.
352. Cotg. s.v. *danse* and *panse*: men are the merriest when their bellies are fullest, etc. Mol. 113.
353. Cf. Mor. 2346: teus cuide ferir (var. batre) qui tue, and Cotg. s.v. *tuer*.
354. Le R. II, 100.

3. INDEX OF PROVERBS<sup>1</sup>

[abboyer] 168, 328	chercher 330
aimer 76, 87	cheval 286, 303
aller 171	chevaucher 106
amour [71], 344	cheville 43
âne 40, 283	chien 228, 289, [328]
argent 49	choir 171
augmentation 112	cloche 281
balance 285	commencement 54
barbe 41, 74	coquin 51
barbier 57	corde 56
bâton 106	corne 332, 339
battre 334, 353	couard 52
besoin 107	[crachat] 48
bœuf 212, 332, 339	cuir 42
boire 45	cuire 335
boutique 82	dame 81
brûler 50	découvrir 226
carreau 290	demouree 77
case 112	dent 211
chandelle 306	dépouiller 307
chapeau 49	descendre 67
chappron rouge 79	eau 47, 225, 287
charrette 341, 349	écorcher 288
chasser 69	écuyer 81
chat 142, 329	église 141
châtier 63, 87	errer 331
chauffer 50	escorpion 172
chausse 229	étable 40, 108

1. Proverbs are listed under their first important word, but sometimes under one or more other words. Modern French forms are adopted where feasible, but some Old French forms are also noted. Numerals refer to the *stanzas* in which the proverb occurs. Square brackets indicate well-known variants not in our text.



femme 40, 337  
feu 230, 342  
fèves 335  
fil 343  
fille 74, 75, 93  
fin 336  
fol 109, 222, 223, 292  
Fortune 290, 340  
fusee 54  
geline 120  
gratter 61, 120  
habit 169  
japper 168, 328  
jars 48  
langue 211, 338  
larmes 148  
lever 167  
lièvre 89  
lire 68  
loup 53, 110, 170, 212  
lune 168  
maillet 65, 305  
maison 50, 86, 226  
marguerite 98  
Martin de Cambray 348  
matin 72, 167  
mère 93  
montagne 72  
monter 66  
moulin 47  
moutarde 94  
moutons de Berry 351  
mule 78  
mûr 119  
nager 304  
nid 347  
œil 291  
oiseau 97  
ombre 44  
orge 59  
paille 41

pain 308  
panse 352  
parler 60, 88, 331  
pâté 350  
pâtissier 39  
pêcher 305  
peindre 105  
pied 80, 286, 288, 330  
pisser 221  
poing 65  
pont 84, 292  
pougin (poussin) 337  
pourceau 98  
prison 70  
promettre 64  
putain 79  
queue 85  
ratte 142  
rez (ras) 333  
riche 284  
sage 62, 222  
scorpion 172  
serf 354  
singé 46  
souper 73  
sourd 282  
tambour 292  
terre 92  
tête rase 112  
tirer 55, 147  
tondu 333  
truie 58  
tuer 353  
vache 83, 165  
veau 165  
vendre 71, 105  
ver 55  
vert 119  
vieille 166  
visages 111  
voisin 86  
volonté 220

4. INDEX OF PROPER NAMES<sup>1</sup>

Berry 1032. *Le R.* 1, 318: "*les bergers de la province de Berry ont coutume de marquer leurs moutons sur le nez pour les reconnoître. On a fait un proverbe de cet usage, que l'on employe de ceux qui par querelle ou autre accident sont marquez au nez.*" Cf. la note à §351.

Collin 70.

Dieux 701.

Flandres 140.

Fortune 785, 960.

Guillot 70.

Martin de Cambray 1008. Cf. la note à §348.

Mengieve 674 (:achieve, lieve), *peut-être Mègève, Haute-Savoie, canton Sallanches.*

Pol (saint) 662.

Venise 139.

5. GLOSSARY<sup>2</sup>

acoustumer 689, *avoir l'habitude.*

affaitté 502, *habile.*

affection 508, *ici, affection, goût pour la carrière de l'église.*

affiner 404, 578, *tromper.*

aguet (d') 537, *par finesse.*

arche 869, *coffre, caisse.*

arguer (s') 733, *se courroucer.*

augmentation 511, *ici, augmentation de nourriture.*

baratter 542, *tromper.*

bas devant 850, *de complexion amoureuse (Huguet), licencieux. (Celui qui donne l'hospitalité à quelque prétendu ami tellement licencieux qu'il découvre à la fin sa trahison, a le droit de le payer en même monnaie—un tel individu mérite qu'on lui fasse de tel pain telle soupe.)*

bievre 606, *castor.*

1. References in this index are to lines.

2. The Glossary indicates the meaning of such archaic words and forms as may be of use or of interest to the reader. These words are glossed in modern French in deference to the requests of several scholars. Works mentioned without title in the Glossary are: Constantin et Désormaux, *Dict. Savoyard*, Paris, 1902; Cotgrave, *A French and English Dict.*, London, 1660; Désormaux, *Bibliographie méthodique des parlers de Savoie*, Annecy, 1922; Fenouillet, *Monographie du patois savoyard*, Annecy, 1902; Godefroy, *Dict. de l'an. fr.*, Paris, 1880-1902; Huguet, *Dict. de la langue fr. du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1925- ; Oudin, *Curiositez fr.*, Paris, 1656; *New English Dict.*, Oxford, 1888-1928; Pierrehumbert, *Dict. hist. du parler neuchatelois et suisse romand*, Neuchâtel, 1926; Puitspelu, *Dict. étym. du patois lyonnais*, Lyon, 1887-90; Sainte-Palaye, *Dict. hist. de l'anc. lang. fr.*, Paris, 1875-82; von Wartburg, *Franz. Etym. Wörterbuch*, Bonn, Leipzig, 1928- . References in the Glossary are to lines.

- bosse 926, *grand tonneau (pour le vin)*; forme dialectale employée entre autres dans les parlers neuchatelois et savoyards: voir les dict. de Pierre-humbert, Constantin et Désormaux, Fenouillet, et von Wartburg s.v. \*buttia.
- bouge 326, *sac*.
- bouter 507, *mettre*. (Celui qui a le gouvernement de quelques enfants en doit mettre quelques-uns d'église.)
- brassin 381, *manège, intrigue*. Cf. Molinet, Faictz et Dictz, ed. Dupire, III, s.v. brassin.
- bribe 635. Cf. le proverbe: *il n'est vie que de coquins quand ils ont assemblé leurs bribes*, et Cotgrave: *morceau de pain donné à un mendiant*.
- cameline 525, *sorte de sauce faite avec du vin, des épices, etc.* Voir Ménagier de Paris (ed. Pichon, Paris, 1847) II, 230.
- carreau 792, *carreau d'arbalète*.
- case 510, *maison*.
- casement 751, *disgrâce (se trouve en c. = se trouve mis au rancart)*. Cf. Molinet, Faictz et Dictz, ed. Dupire, III, s.v. casser.
- caultelle 542, *ruse*.
- cauteleux 655, *rusé, fin*.
- chappuis 33, *charpentier*.
- chaquotes (:ryotes) 575, *bavardage, caquetage*.
- charriere (par) 806, *sur la route*.
- cheval (a quatre piés blans) 760, *un grand prometteur, celui qui abandonne son ami au besoin*; voir la note à §286.
- conjecture (d'une) 986, *d'une seule et même texture, semblables*.
- contreroller 172, 1006, *censurer, critiquer, "spie faults in"* (Cotgrave).
- coquardie 390, *sottise, bêtise*. Cf. Cotgrave, s.v. coquardise.
- coquillart 857, *sot, insolent*. Cf. Cotgrave, s.v. coquardeau et sur les Coquillards ou Compagnons de la Coquille, voir P. Champion, Fr. Villon, II, 65.
- coquin 104, *mendiant*.
- cornart 431, *sot*. Cf. Pathelin 1170, 1204.
- courager 782, *encourager*.
- cruciffis (menger) 531, *faire le faux devot*.
- daguettes 801, *petites dagues*.
- deduire 940, *exposer*; (se) 635, *se réjouir*.
- dens (malgré mes) 252, *malgré moi*.
- destermîner 582, *égarer*.
- destourner (se) 78, *se garer de*.
- empaster 680, *pétrir (voir la note à §225)*; 1022, *perpétrer*.

- empeschier (s') 179, *s'occuper*.  
 entendre 380, *comprendre*.  
 entretenement 777, *entretien*.  
 esploy 605, *avantage, profit*.  
 espreciaulx 490, *précieux*.  
 estable 15, *écurie*.  
 estature 812, *état, condition*.  
 faintif 617, *trompeur*.  
 falasse 406, *déception, artifice, tromperie*.  
 fardeur 403, *celui qui donne un faux lustre à un objet, qui en cache les défauts*.  
     *Cf. Cotgrave*.  
 filers 946, *filets*.  
 folatiere 215, *folie*.  
 fumé 691, *mis en colère*.  
 gualer (se) 870, *s'amuser*.  
 guodinette 106, *"a pretty, peart lasse, a loving or lovely girle"* (*Cotg. s.v. god.*).  
 hoquelerie 405, *chicane, filouterie*.  
 introduit 831, *élevé*.  
 ist (se m'ist Dieux) 701, *aussi vrai que je souhaite que Dieu m'aide. Godefroy, s.v. aidier donne un exemple de notre forme employée par Coquillart. Plus tard on trouve semidieux et midieux; voir Huguet et, pour la formule, Foulet, Petite Syntaxe, §454 et Romania, LIII (1927), 301. (Cf. also Spitzer, Romania, LXV [1939], 289)*.  
 jaquet 214, *ici, nigaud*.  
 jars 77. *Des exemples de Godefroy et de Sainéan (Sources de l'argot anc., II, 379) il semble résulter que jars signifie quolibet lancé à quelqu'un, plaisanterie, allusion (ici: si quelqu'un lance un quolibet contre un autre, la plaisanterie peut retomber sur lui—comme le crachat du proverbe. Voir la note à §48)*.  
 jenglerie 407, *caquetage*.  
 la 940, *sous-entendu quelque mot comme cause, chose. Cf. Paul Falk, Studia Neophilologica, x, 54 et xi, 1*.  
 lardier 866, *garde-manger*.  
 lart (baillier du) 1002, *duper*.  
 las 946, *pièges*.  
 latin 380, *propos*; (faulx) 581, *langage trompeur*.  
 lourts 725, *sot, idiot*.  
 mais 220, *mets*.  
 mensongier 927, *menteur*.

mermiteux (faire du) 21, *faire le bon apôtre, être hypocrite.*

mescheoir 614, *arriver du mal.*

mestionner 413, *mêler, mélanger.*

mestryer 860, *vexer, tourmenter.*

nesgier 823, *nager.*

ospital (conquister) 1055, *se ruiner; cf. prendre le chemin de l'hôpital.*

papelart 166, *hypocrite. Cf. Sainéan, Langue de Rabelais, II, 266, et Romania, LXV (1939), 260.*

paroche (: cloche) 720, *paroisse. La forme se trouve dans les patois savoyards et lyonnais, entre autres; voir les dict. de Fenouillet, de Puitspelu et de Constantin et Désormaux (qui en indiquent l'emploi à Thônes et à Annecy).*

partye 539, *la partie adverse.*

piser 768, *pîler.*

plane 674, *plaine (cf. plana dans les patois savoyards et lyonnais).*

ploy 604, *disposition.*

pougin 936, *poussin. La forme se trouve dans les patois savoyards, neuchatelois et suisse romand; voir l'Atlas linguistique et les dict. de Constantin et Désormaux (qui en constatent l'emploi à Annecy et à Bonneville), de Fenouillet et de Pierrehumbert.*

queuvre 499, *dissimule.*

raffardeur 401, *moqueur, railleur.*

rappineux 23, *rapace.*

rase (teste) 512, *tête tondue; ici, moine. Cf. Le Roux, Dict. comique, s.v. tondre: il est tondu comme un moine. (Quand il y a une tête rase dans la maison, on est sûr de vivre "à plenté" dans cette maison.)*

revire-baton 878, *celui qui revire (tourne, manie) le baton, qui menace? Cf. Pierrehumbert, revire-pantet, individu qui tourne casaque; Fenouillet, revire-berda, tourne-bride; Godefroy, revire marion. revers de main, soufflet, et la note à §330.*

ruer 1046, *lancer, jeter.*

setour 871, *cellier; forme employée dans les patois savoyards et neuchatelois. Voir les dict. de Constantin et Désormaux et de Pierrehumbert, s.v. cetour.*

sorner (se) 950, *plaisanter.*

soulacieuse 132, *agréable.*

sourvenir, 772, *soutenir.*

taille (d'une) 1027, *un coup de taille. (Cf. frapper d'estoc et de taille, donner de la tête contre un mur, etc.)*

*temporiser* 190, *vivre dans le siècle* (Godefroy); *to live . . . according to the time* (Cotg.).

tiers 1035, *jeu*. Selon Cotg. comme "Barley-break" dont l'Oxford Eng. Dict. donne une description (sorte de jeu ressemblant aux barres).

tra 800, *poutre*; terme vaudois, fribourgeois, savoisien et lyonnais. Voir l'Atlas linguistique et Désormaux, Bibliographie, p. 271.

yverner (s') 164, 745, *litt. se nourrir pendant l'hiver*; *ici, en vivre, en tirer profit*. Voir Proverbes en rimes, Glossaire.

## AN ANONYMOUS WORK ON POISONS ADDRESSED TO CHARLES OF ORLÉANS

LATIN manuscript 11230 of the Bibliothèque Nationale is a beautifully illustrated codex of the fifteenth century whose two chief constituents are treatises on poisons. Between them is a brief tract, largely genealogical, upon the house of Anghiera and Milan.<sup>1</sup> The first work on poisons is that of Peter of Abano addressed to the pope, which was copied for our codex by Nicolaus Astesanus, or Nicolas Astesan, secretary of Charles, duke of Orléans and Milan.<sup>2</sup> Charles lived from 1394 to 1465, becoming duke of Orléans in 1407 and of Milan in 1447, which enables us to date this copy approximately in the middle of the fifteenth century. The second, anonymous, and somewhat longer work on poisons—the subject of the present note—is illuminated in our manuscript,<sup>3</sup> like the first, and presumably was also written by Nicolaus Astesanus for the duke, although it bears no definite statement to that effect. There is another manuscript of our text in the library of the Arsenal at Paris.<sup>4</sup>

Several rulers at Milan before the time of Charles of Orléans had shown an interest, whether offensive or defensive, in the subject of poisons and safeguards against these. Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti were said to wish to combine aconite with image-magic against Pope John XXII. To duke Galeazzo a work on poisons was sent by Francis of Siena. To Filippo Maria, Antonio Guaineri addressed a longer and a

1. BN 11230, fols. 28r-31v, opening, "Anglus filius Aleranni filii Enee. . . ."

2. *Ibid.*, fols. 11r-27v: "Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino I. divina providentia summo pontifice Petrus de Hebano minimus medicorum. . . / . . . Et ideo mater omnium medicinarum tyriaca a medicis est appellata etc. Explicit tractatus de venenis magistri Petri de Hebano Paduani. Scriptus per me Nicolaum Astesanium illustrissimi et excellentissimi principis et domini mei Karoli ducis aureliani. et mediolani etc. Secretarium."

For other MSS of this work see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 922-923.

Concerning Nicolaus Astesanus see Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, 1868, pp. 112-113. Also P. Champion, *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans*, 1910; *La Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 1911.

3. *Ibid.*, fols. 33r-70v, opening, "De venenis quedam sunt que dantur occulte et etiam operantur occulte, quedam que dantur manifeste et operantur etiam manifeste. . . ." The work closes: ". . . in omnibus istis et dictis prius in quibus non est facta mentio de dieta exhibeat dieta equalis que confortet virtutem que fit de viribus gallinarum avium vel carnum pinguum et vinum limphatum cum aqua secundum naturam restituentis. Et deus melius novit quam ego quia rerum omnium medicus et nature conservator etc." There follows a concluding couplet by the copyist: "Laus tibi sit Christe quoniam liber explicit iste: / Facto fine pia laudetur virgo Maria."

4. Paris, Arsenal, Latin MS 873, fifteenth century, fols. 138-181, *De venenis*. . . et diversis generibus serpentium. This manuscript has already been noted in Thorndike and Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, 1937, col. 184.

shorter version of a treatise on the same subject.<sup>5</sup> Charles of Orléans thus succeeded to a well established tradition.

The treatise on poisons addressed to Charles of Orléans is anonymous in both manuscripts of it. About the sole clue in the text itself as to the identity of the author is an allusion to his having practiced medicine in Milan and its neighborhood, which seems to indicate that he was not a native of that city. He refers to having been in the bishopric of Milan with lord Martin "de latere," whom he cured of debility and tremor of the nerves and of stupor in a castle of his called Pezamium. While there, a castellan took them to a rocky desert locality where he said that a short time before there had been the cast-off skin of a serpent thirty cubits long and with a mouth so large that a twelve year old boy was able to crawl in without breaking it.<sup>6</sup>

Our treatise is especially concerned with venomous animals. It warns against drinking with an unfamiliar animal or putting any unknown substance in one's mouth or allowing it to rub against the body. In houses where there is a danger of venomous animals entering, the windows should be closed.<sup>7</sup> If a person has been bitten or stung and does not know by what animal, the part above the bite should be bound and the place bitten sucked rapidly with a hot cupping glass or scarified, a leech applied, the blood drawn off, and a plaster applied. Or a chicken plucked about the anus should be applied to the bite or puncture to extract the venom. Other applications recommended depend rather on the principle that like cures like, as when crocodile fat is used for the bite of the crocodile or the flesh of vipers for poisons.<sup>8</sup>

Turning to symptoms of poisoning for a moment, our treatise states that a flushed face, sweating, tremor of the nerves, thirst, foul mouth and yellowness of the eyes are signs that the venom is contrary to the human *complexio* in its entire substance.<sup>9</sup>

Reverting to the subject of safeguards against venomous animals, our treatise suggests the keeping of other animals whose nature it is to catch and kill venomous animals, or herbs, stones and minerals, like sulphur, that are antagonistic to them. Another suggestion is to maintain a lighted lamp with men talking about it a long way from where one sleeps, so that the venomous animals may go there and leave one alone. Wearing an emerald in a ring is also recommended, as are various

5. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 1934, III, 24-25, 534-535; IV, 216-217.

6. BN 11230, fol. 48r.

7. BN 11230, fol. 34v.

8. BN 11230, fols. 34v-35r.

9. BN 11230, fol. 36r.



suffumigations and ointments to keep off serpents. Among things that are deadly to serpents is the spittle of a fasting man, especially one of choleric temperament, spat into the mouth of the serpent, and most so when the fasting choleric man has sal ammoniac in his mouth. After listing protectives against mice and ants, our author states that the herb called *leopardus strangulans*<sup>10</sup> is swift death to a leopard.

Our author next asserts that "in this place and the following we shall speak of poisons and venomous animals according to what has happened in our own time and experience and according to the utterances of the ancient philosophers." He begins with the basilisk and to the usual statements concerning it adds that birds fall when flying over its habitation. Our author does not believe that the female is deadlier than the male, but explains that although the feminine animals have more teeth and leave more wounds when they bite, their venom is less sharp than that of the masculine. The poison of old animals is worse than that of young because drier, and that of animals living in dry places is worse than that of those in humid regions.

Various types of serpents are distinguished. Some make the blood issue from all the pores, eyes, nostrils, ears, anus and virga, provoke vomiting, and open up wounds that have been consolidated for a long time. These serpents are said to have sandy colored bodies with black dots and to be one or two cubits long. There are thirst-producing serpents and leaping and flying snakes who hide in trees and jump out upon their prey. Dragons are from seven to twenty-one cubits in length and are largest in Nubia and India.

Passing on to other animals, our author affirms that the bite of any animal is worst when it is fasting. He gives much the stock description of a mad dog but adds that a mad wolf is more harmful. Scorpions differ according to sex and in their sting, wings, etc. After discussing the salamander, our author tells us that "malice of injuring and killing" is found also in minerals and especially in a certain stone which resembles coral. He then comes to poisonous herbs such as aconite (*napellus*) and opium. Remedial procedures are suggested for such emergencies as when gall is drunk or eaten, when one is affected by cold fish, when milk sours in the stomach, or when heavy wine is taken on a fasting stomach after exercise, labor and *coitus*.

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10. BN 11230, fol. 40r. I do not find this herb listed in Hermann Fischer, *Mittelalterliche Pflanzenkunde*, 1929.

## LE VERGER DES IMAGES DE SAINT FRANÇOIS DE SALES

SAINT FRANÇOIS DE SALES enfant, se promenant avec sa mère sur les terres du château de Sales, près d'Annecy, remarquait avec elle les paysans qui semaient du blé:

Cette pluie [lui expliquait sa mère], cette chaleur modérée, ce temps propre à mûrir les fruits, dépendent de Dieu seul; les hommes n'y peuvent rien.<sup>1</sup>

Plus loin, ils méditaient devant un horizon de montagnes que Charles-Auguste de Sales nous décrit ainsi:

On voit . . . une infinité de villages, temples, châteaux, fleuves, étangs, collines, prés, champs . . . et autres choses semblables, avec une si grande variété que l'œil en tire une merveilleuse récréation, et ne peut-on rien voir au monde de plus beau.<sup>2</sup>

Dans cet aimable paysage, devant ces tableaux variés, un goût très vif pour la nature allait se former dans l'esprit de Saint François de Sales. Son imagination devait puiser une bonne partie de ses qualités de grâce, de variété et de fraîcheur dans ses souvenirs d'une enfance champêtre et seigneuriale à la fois. Le parc riant, le jardin parfumé, le verger fertile, le coin retiré et ensoleillé où l'on dispose les ruches, près des corbeilles de fleurs choisies, l'allée de roses, et, dans cette nature rendue plus souriante encore par les soins des jardiniers, le chant des oiseaux dans le verger, tout cela ne pouvait que former un tableau coloré, tendre et serein, dans le cœur du saint, intimement lié à lui au plus profond de son être, et plus cher encore qu'un simple souvenir.

Plus tard, lorsqu'il revient au château de Sales, il écrit au père de Vaugelas, son ami, et se revoit "chez [ses] parents de Sales, au milieu des oiseaux qui chantent le printemps. . ."<sup>3</sup> On a plaisir à l'imaginer, quand il se promène et médite sur les bienfaits que Dieu prodigue à la nature et à l'âme humaine, répondant, "si on lui montre de beaux vergers": "Nous sommes l'agriculture et le labourage de Dieu."<sup>4</sup> Il associera toujours la nature et la dévotion, et ces rapprochements seront

1. Cité par l'abbé Marsollier, *Vie de Saint François de Sales*, Paris, 1821, p. 20.

2. Cité par F. Strowski, *Saint François de Sales*, Paris, Plon, 1928, p. 47.

3. Cf. F. Vincent, *Saint François de Sales directeur d'âmes*, Paris, 1923, p. 215.

4. J. P. Camus, *L'Esprit de Saint François de Sales*. In François de Sales, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. des Visitandines, v. xvi, iv, 26. Cité par P. Kaden, *Die Sprache des Saint François de Sales*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 137.

plus tard la source de ses images les plus charmantes dans l'*Introduction à la vie dévote*.

Pour raffermir ce que cette observation d'une nature féconde et sereine pourrait donner de trop tendre chez un esprit délicat comme celui du saint, son éducation très complète devait former, en quelque sorte, un contre-poids. Il apprend le latin au collège d'Annecy, et l'écrit plus tard avec "élégance et facilité."<sup>5</sup> Au collège de Clermont, il apprend le respect de la langue, le souci de la correction, le sens de la beauté des mots, "et, peut-être, un certain penchant au style fleuri."<sup>6</sup> Enfin, le souvenir de son maître, Gilbert Générard, qui l'initia à l'étude critique des Saintes Ecritures, devait pour lui rester attaché à l'étude enthousiaste qu'il fit du *Cantique des Cantiques*, dont la richesse d'images et les évocations champêtres étaient bien faites pour le séduire.

A la fin de ses études, François de Sales est un humaniste, comme on l'était à la fin de la Renaissance. La littérature est pour lui un instrument de culture qu'il aime sans arrière-pensée, dont il subordonne l'amour à l'amour divin, mais qu'il ne considère pas comme une concession faite au goût du siècle. La culture humaine doit faire partie de la culture chrétienne. Cette idée est en lui si ancrée qu'il fonde à Annecy, en 1606, une "Académie florimontane," ayant pour emblème un oranger et pour devise *Fleurs et fruits*. Cela n'est-il pas significatif? Et cette alliance de culture intellectuelle et de jardins parfumés ne représente-t-elle pas l'esprit même du saint?

Cette Académie était "un aréopage de lettrés assemblés pour traiter de l'ornement des langues et surtout de la française, pour se former un style qui devait être grave, exquis, plein."<sup>7</sup> Durant toute sa carrière, l'évêque du Genève conviera ses prêtres à la culture de l'esprit, leur disant que "l'ignorance des prêtres est plus à craindre que le péché."

Ainsi voyons-nous Saint François de Sales en possession d'un esprit formé à la fois par la nature champêtre, par les classiques latins, et par l'étude des Ecritures. Nous y ajouterons un "sacrifice au goût du jour," qui se rattache directement à l'humanisme, et qui est l'engouement de la société pour Pline. François de Sales se compose un recueil d'anecdotes et d'exemples tirés de l'*Histoire Naturelle* de Pline et qu'il utilise dans ses sermons, à partir de 1602, alors qu'il est à Paris.<sup>8</sup> Ces éléments

5. F. Strowski, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

8. Il y joint quelques exemples tirés d'Aristote (*De historia animalium*), comme celui des chèvres d'Alcméon, qui "haleynent par les oreilles"; "il est vrai qu'Aristote le nye," ajoute Saint François. (*Introduction*, 3, xxxi) Un autre de ces exemples a trait à l'abeille "qui, dit Aristote, tire son miel en laissant les fleurs entières et fraîches." (*Introduction*, 1, III, 10.)

variés se retrouvent de façon presque limpide dans l'*Introduction à la vie dévote*, qui date de 1608. Les pages qui suivent ont pour but, tout d'abord, de faire remonter aux sources énumérées ci-dessus certaines des images et comparaisons qui abondent dans le livre. Ces images "imitées" dessinent une sorte de canevas pour des images personnelles et originales, qui seront étudiées dans une seconde partie, et qui forment dans l'*Introduction à la vie dévote* comme une broderie nuancée.

#### L'IMITATION DE PLINE

La première image, dans l'*Introduction*, celle de la bouquetière Glycera, a sa source dans Pline<sup>9</sup> et donne le ton à l'ouvrage. La doctrine de la dévotion est comparée à un bouquet de fleurs présenté de façon charmante et variée, les fleurs étant les "discours," les arguments, les façons de persuader. Des fleurs nous passons aux arbres, et Saint François compare l'amélioration de l'âme à la culture des amandiers qu'on a "changés en amandiers doux en les perçant seulement au pied pour en faire sortir le suc."<sup>10</sup> Enfin, qualité essentielle à l'amélioration de l'âme, l'humilité est aussi délicate que "l'arbre des isles de Tylos, lequel de nuit resserre et tient closes les belles fleurs incarnates et ne les ouvre qu'au soleil levant."<sup>11</sup>

La flore cède maintenant le pas à la faune et nous avons cette exquise image des lièvres blancs en hiver dans la montagne "parce qu'ils ne voyent et ne mangent que la neige." Ainsi l'âme, dans un milieu de pureté, de beauté sainte, ne peut qu'être immaculée. Il n'est pas jusqu'aux sangliers qui ne servent d'exemple à la vertu humaine: cette dernière doit être "limée et affilée par l'exercice des autres vertus," tout comme "les sangliers, pour aiguïser leurs deffenses, les frottent et les fourbissent avec leurs autres dents."<sup>12</sup> Il est permis ici de supposer que le bon saint n'était pas dupe de la naïveté de ces images auxquelles il donne non pas une valeur descriptive, mais une valeur "dynamique" destinée à montrer vigoureusement l'excellence de la vertu.

Saint François semble avoir une certaine prédilection pour les oiseaux, car, s'inspirant de Pline, il nous parle de "la cresserelle, qui épouvante les oyseaux de proie" en criant et en les regardant, et auprès de laquelle la colombe vit en paix. Ici encore il s'agit de l'humilité, vertu primordiale, qui repousse Satan comme la cresserelle les oiseaux de proie.<sup>13</sup>

9. *Intr.*, I, XXI, c. II. Notes de l'édition des Visitandines.

10. *Introduction*, éd. Royer, I, XXIV, p. 41. Pline, *Hist. Nat.*, I, XVII, c. XXVII.

11. *Intr.*, 3, V, p. 91. *Hist.*, I, XII, c. XI.

12. *Intr.*, 2, XXI, p. 75. Cf. *Hist.*, I, VIII, c. LV.

13. *Intr.*, 3, IV, p. 86. Cf. *Hist.*, I, X, c. XXXVII.

L'attitude envers le prochain évoque l'image étrange des "perdrix de Paphlagonie qui ont deux cœurs"; ainsi l'un des nôtres est "doux, gracieux, et courtois en notre endroit," et "dur, sévère et rigoureux envers le prochain."<sup>14</sup> Remarquons en passant la symétrie des deux parties de la phrase, qui la fait passer à l'état de sentence proverbiale et la fixe dans l'esprit du lecteur.

Si le cœur humain ne doit pas être "à double face," il doit par contre être impénétrable et ouvert à la fois: impénétrable aux choses caduques, ouvert seulement au ciel, car "les halcyons font leur nid comme une paume, et ne laissent en iceux qu'une petite ouverture. . . Ils les font si fermes et impénétrables que . . . jamais l'eau n'y peut entrer."<sup>15</sup>

Enfin l'exemple du miel d'Héraclée,<sup>16</sup> doux à la langue bien que vénéneux, a tant frappé Saint François qu'il en parle à plusieurs reprises à propos de la fausse amitié; et quelle image pourrait être plus exacte? Quoi de plus inoffensif que le miel, et de plus rare que cette variété exotique, dont les propriétés étranges frappent l'imagination du lecteur. L'auteur remarque d'abord que ce miel "ressemble à l'autre," mais que "la bonté de l'un n'empêcherait pas la nuisance de l'autre," s'ils étaient mêlés. Il faut donc "être sur sa garde pour n'être point trompé en amitié." La comparaison entre ce miel et la fausse amitié est ensuite développée suivant un parallèle rigoureux qui rappelle la méthode scolastique; toutefois la forme demeure originale et personnelle. Voici comment Saint François nous montre les dangers de cette fausse amitié: le miel d'Héraclée "est plus doux à la langue, à raison de l'aconit qu'il contient." Or, "l'amitié mondaine produit . . . un grand amas de paroles emmiellées." Le miel d'Héraclée, "estant avalé, provoque un tournoyement de teste," et, de même, "la fausse amitié provoque un tournoyement d'esprit." Si ce miel "trouble la veüe," l'amitié mondaine "trouble le jugement"; enfin "comme le miel d'Héraclée donne une grande amertume à la bouche, les fausses amitiés se terminent en paroles et demandes charnelles et puantes ou, en cas de refus . . . à des confusions et jalousies."

Cette dernière image, plus travaillée que les autres, montre comment l'auteur utilise ses anecdotes tirées de Plinie, combien il les transforme et les rend personnelles en tenant compte, toutefois, d'un reste de scolastique médiévale dans la forme. Ainsi peut-il persuader, tendrement et fermement à la fois, Philothée et ses nombreuses sœurs, de l'excellence de la dévotion, chemin de la perfection.

14. *Intr.*, 3, xxxvi, p. 163. Cf. *Hist.*, 1, ix, c. xxix.

15. *Intr.*, 3, xiv, p. 113.

16. *Intr.*, 3, xx et xxii.

## L'IMITATION DU CANTIQUE DES CANTIQUES ET DES PSAUMES DE DAVID

Il est assez caractéristique que Saint François, s'inspirant des Ecritures, ait choisi comme source fondamentale le *Cantique des Cantiques* si florissant d'images et de symboles. Cependant les exemples tirés des *Livres Saints* sont utilisés dans l'*Introduction* de façon différente; ils sont cités, souvent textuellement, comme sujet de méditation, pour leur valeur propre; mais ils contribuent certainement à créer dans l'esprit du saint un florilège d'images qu'il assimile pour créer plus tard des images neuves dont le lien avec une source définie devient difficile à découvrir. Les exemples qu'il choisit passent du familier au poétique: tantôt il nous parle de "renardeaux qui démolissent les vignes,"<sup>17</sup> tantôt de l'âme, qui, par le sacrifice de la messe, ressemble "à une colonne de fumée aromatique";<sup>18</sup> puis une gracieuse image florale lui sert à montrer la nécessité d'une conscience nette:

Les fleurs, dit l'Espoux sacré, apparaissent en notre terre: le temps d'esmonder et de tailler est venu. Il faut mettre la main à la serpe pour retrancher de notre conscience toutes les œuvres mortes et superflues.<sup>19</sup>

Saint François trouve "ès cantiques" une jolie comparaison dont il se sert pour conseiller "la parole douce à l'endroit du prochain"<sup>20</sup> et qui parle de miel; en effet, "l'Epouse n'a pas seulement le miel en ses lèvres . . . mais elle l'a encore dessous la langue, c'est à dire dans la poitrine."

Les *Psaumes* de David contiennent eux aussi des images que l'on peut qualifier de champêtres, on y compare le juste, par exemple, à "l'arbre qui est planté sur le cours des eaux, qui porte son fruit en son tems,"<sup>21</sup> et les paroles de Dieu, pour David, "sont plus douces que miel"; mais comme il a été dit plus haut, les versets bibliques sont le plus souvent insérés *in toto* dans l'*Introduction*, sans transformations de la part de l'auteur, comme en témoigne l'exemple suivant, qui termine la liste des sources bibliques:

Retirés votre esprit dedans vostre cœur . . . pour dire avec David: J'ay veillé et ay esté semblable au pélican de la solitude; j'ay esté faict comme le chat-huant ou le hibou dans les mazures et comme le passereau solitaire au toict.<sup>22</sup>

17. *Intr.*, 3, xxxvi, p. 162. Cf. *Cantique*, II, 15.

18. *Intr.*, 2, xiv, 61. Cf. *Cantique*, III, 6.

19. *Intr.*, I, x, 13. Cf. *Cantique*, II, 12.

20. *Intr.*, 3, viii, 102. Cf. *Cantique*, IV, 2.

21. *Psaumes*, I, 3.

22. *Intr.*, 2, xii, 56. Cf. *Psaumes*, CL, 7, 8.

## L'IMITATION DES GÉORGIQUES

De ses études secondaires, Saint François de Sales gardait un vif amour des auteurs latins, et Virgile en particulier avait laissé de nombreux souvenirs dans l'esprit du saint. Le chapitre iv des *Géorgiques*, qui a trait aux abeilles, dut faire une impression plus durable encore, car nous trouvons plusieurs images, dans l'*Introduction à la vie dévote*, que l'on peut aisément faire remonter aux *Géorgiques*. Il nous semblait possible, au premier abord, que Montaigne, souvent mentionné par François de Sales, fût la source des images "apicoles" de l'*Introduction*; mais les références que l'on trouve chez Montaigne diffèrent de celles que l'on trouve chez notre auteur. Le détail des pierres transportées par les abeilles en guise de lest, pendant l'orage, qui se trouve dans les *Géorgiques*, nous amena à relire cet ouvrage, et la moisson fut fructueuse. Le premier vers lui-même:

Protenus aerii mellis coelestia dona  
Exsequar. . .

donne à Saint François l'idée de comparer ce miel à ce qu'il y a de plus pur dans les sacrements, à l'hostie:

Comme l'abeille, ayant recueilli sur les fleurs la rosée du ciel . . . la porte dans sa ruche, ainsi le prêtre ayant pris sur l'autel le Sauveur du Monde . . . qui comme rosée est descendu du ciel . . . le met en viande de suavité dans notre bouche.<sup>23</sup>

L'essaim d'abeilles, phénomène si caractéristique et si connu, sert à montrer aux sœurs de Philothée que la charité est toujours suivie par d'autres vertus, lorsque l'âme dévote la loge en son cœur, tout comme ". . . le roy des abeilles ne se met point aux champs, qu'il ne soit environné de tout son petit peuple."<sup>24</sup>

Les mœurs des abeilles, finement et tendrement décrites par Virgile, sont en elles-mêmes un exemple pour l'homme. François de Sales va plus loin et nous peint un touchant tableau des "nymphes" des abeilles, pour les comparer à l'âme sur le chemin de la dévotion: "Les mouchons des abeilles ne sçauraient encore voler sur les fleurs . . . ils se nourrissent du miel que leurs mères ont préparé." De même, le miel de l'âme lui est donné "par les enseignements que les anciens dévots ont laissé."

23. *Intr.*, 2, XXI, 74. Alors que les notes de l'édition des Visitandines donnent les sources précédentes (Pline-Ecriture Sainte), elles ne mentionnent pas Virgile. Aurait-il effarouché ces bonnes religieuses?

24. *Intr.*, 3, 1, 76. Cf. Virgile, *Œuvres Complètes*, éd. Nisard, Paris, 1875.

"Ut quum prima novi ducent examina reges  
Vere suo ludetque favis emissa juvenus  
Vicina invitet decedere ripa calori" (*Géorgiques*, IV, 21-23).



Grâce à ce soutien, les ailes commencent à sortir, chez les abeilles spirituelles comme chez les "petites nymphes qui volent ensuite à la quête par tout le paysage."<sup>25</sup>

Passant à des détails curieux, pittoresques et frappants des coutumes des abeilles, l'auteur nous montre que l'âme éprise de Dieu demeure "constante parmy l'inconstance" comme les avettes, "surprises du vent en la campagne, embrassent des pierres pour pouvoir se balancer en l'air."<sup>26</sup> D'autre part, les abeilles s'écartent des lieux bruyants et de tout ce qui est corrompu; quel exemple pourrait être plus persuasif pour notre âme, qui doit posséder cette même horreur quand il s'agit "des vanités humaines"? L'auteur emploie les mêmes images que Virgile, celle des échos, qui effraient les abeilles, et celle des endroits corrompus, des marécages, dont elles s'écartent toujours.<sup>27</sup> Enfin, comme l'âme humaine doit éviter les mauvaises conversations, là encore les abeilles lui donnent l'exemple lorsqu'elles se détournent de "l'amas de tahons et de freslons qui les persécutent."<sup>28</sup> Cette intelligence des abeilles n'a d'égale que leur patience envers les "araigues" qui, nous dit le bon saint, "les empêchent de faire leur mesnage" avec leurs toiles gênantes tissées jusque dans les rayons.<sup>29</sup> Cette lutte entre les "araigues" et les avettes, que ces dernières supportent, nous montre que "le monde nous fera toujours la guerre," que nous soyons abeilles ou Philothées. C'est sur cette note de résignation gracieuse, et en même temps, constructive—car les abeilles réparent toujours les dégâts—que nous quittons Virgile. Son influence sur Saint François de Sales est indéniable. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, les *Géorgiques* sont la source, directe ou indirecte, de la plupart des "abeilles" qui forment une véritable ruche

25. *Intr.*, 4, II, 183.

"... aliae, spem gentis, adultos  
Educunt fetus..." (*Géorgiques*, IV, 162).

26. *Intr.*, 4, III, 190.

"... et saepe lapillos  
Ut cymbae instabiles fluctu jactante saburram  
Tollunt: his sede per inania nubile librant" (*Géorgiques*, IV, 194).

27. *Intr.*, 3, XXXVIII, 171; 5, IX, 218; 5, X, 222.

"Neu propius tectis taxum sine; neve rubentis  
Ure foco caneros; altae neu crede paludi,  
Aut ubi odor coeni gravis, aut ubi concavu pulsu  
Saxa sonant, vocisque offensa resultat imago" (*Géorgiques*, IV, 46-50).

28. *Intr.*, 3, XXIV, 139.

"Aut onera adciipiunt venientem, aut agmine facto  
Ignavum fucus pecus a praesepibus arcent" (*Géorgiques*, IV, 167-168).  
et: "Immunisque sedens aliena ad pabula fucus,  
Aut asper crabro, imparibus se immiscit armis" (*Géorgiques*, IV, 244-245).

29. *Intr.*, 1, XXII, 38; 4, I, 181.

"aut invisa Minervae  
Laxos in foribus suspendit aranea casses" (*Géorgiques*, IV, 246-247).



dans tout le livre; et ces images "apicoles" sont, plus que toutes les autres, près du cœur de Saint François.

#### LES IMAGES PERSONNELLES

Toutes ces images ont leur place dans un verger mi-réel, mi-imaginaire, d'une poésie et d'une fraîcheur auxquelles se joint une bonne dose de sens pratique. François de Sales ne devait pas se refuser à des conversations familières avec les jardiniers du château de Sales, occupés à tailler les rosiers. Passant près d'un jeune noyer, ils faisaient peut-être remarquer à leur jeune maître que

. . . le noyer nuit grandement aux vignes ou aux champs esquels il est planté, parce qu'étant si grand, il attire tout le suc de la terre . . . enfin il attire les passants à soy, qui pour abattre son fruit, gastent et foulent autour.<sup>30</sup>

N'entendez-vous pas d'ici le jardinier tempêter contre les gamins qui sont venus marauder, ou même, contre François de Sales enfant?

Promenons-nous avec lui "en un beau jardin"; cueillons, nous aussi, "quatre ou cinq fleurs pour les odorier et tenir" au long de notre étude, et comme Philothée, tout en ayant plaisir à marcher parmi les fleurs, les fruits, les arbres, les oiseaux et les abeilles, souvenons-nous aussi des préceptes du Saint, pour les "odorier spirituellement."<sup>31</sup>

Nous nous penchons d'abord vers une petite violette qui embaume, et Saint François, avec un sourire tendre, nous dit:

[Ainsi] la vraye vefve est . . . une petite violette de mars, qui respand une suavité nonpareille par l'odeur de sa dévotion, et se tient presque toujours cachée sous les larges feuilles de son abjection . . . elle vient ès lieux frais et non cultivés, ne voulant estre pressée de la conversation des mondains.<sup>32</sup>

Dès cette première image, nous remarquons une différence. Les images imitées sont presque toujours en deux parties: l'exemple et le précepte. Ici, les deux éléments sont intimement fondus: quelle grâce persuasive, quelle délicatesse de touche, et aussi quel naturel!

Nous arrivons maintenant à une allée ensoleillée où les roses fleurissent et se fanent, et, cette fois, ce sont nos actions qui viennent à l'esprit de notre guide: "Nos actions sont comme les roses, lesquelles, bien qu'estant fraîches, elles ont plus de grâce, estant néanmoins seiches, elles ont plus d'odeur et de force."<sup>33</sup>

Mais les parterres sont maintenant derrière nous, et un verger nous

30. *Intr.*, 3, XVIII, 124.

31. *Intr.*, 2, VII, 49.

32. *Intr.*, 3, XXXIX, 178.

33. *Intr.*, 4, XIV, 208.

entoure. Une remarque générale, d'abord: ce verger semble-t-il trop touffu? Non, les feuilles des arbres "qui d'elles memes ne sont pas beaucoup prisables, servent néanmoins de beaucoup, non seulement pour embellir (les arbres), mais aussi pour conserver les fruits tandis qu'ils sont encore tendres."<sup>34</sup> Tout en examinant un arbre fruitier non loin de là, voici que l'on découvre quelques fruits gâtés, ce qui nous vaut cette remarque mélancolique: "les corps humains ressemblent aux fruits, lesquels, quoiqu'entiers et bien assaisonnez, reçoivent de la tare, s'entretenant les uns les autres."<sup>35</sup> Et cela nous amène à parler des conserves de fruits, sujet qui semble tenir à cœur au propriétaire du jardin, qui a une prédilection particulière pour les cerises et les abricots. Voici qu'il les compare à nos cœurs: écoutons-le:

Si les fruits les plus tendres, comme sont les cerises, les abricots . . . se conservent aysément toute l'année, estant confits au sucre ou au miel, ce n'est pas merveille si nos cœurs . . . sont preservez de la corruption du péché, lorsqu'ils sont sucrez et emmiellés de la chair et du sang incorruptible du Fils de Dieu.<sup>36</sup>

Il reprend la même image, quelques pas plus loin, pour nous raconter ce que nous avons entendu de plus pittoresque sur les femmes et leurs maris—on ne peut résister au plaisir de citer tout au long:

Il y a des fruits comme le coing qui, pour l'aspreté de leur suc, ne sont guère agréables qu'en confiture. Il y en a d'autres qui, pour leur tendreté et délicatesse, ne peuvent durer s'ils ne sont aussi confits, comme les cerises et les abricots; ainsi les femmes doivent désirer que leurs maris soient confits au sucre de la dévotion, car l'homme sans la dévotion est un animal sévère, aspre et rude; et les maris doivent souhaiter que leurs femmes soient dévotes car sans la dévotion la femme est grandement fragile.<sup>37</sup>

Troisième exemple, alors que nous passons devant le fruitier où s'alignent poires et abricots; tant qu'ils sont entiers, dit le saint, "ils peuvent estre conservez, les uns sur la paille, les autres dedans le sable, et les autres en leur propre feuillage; mais une fois entamez, il est presque impossible de les garder que par le miel et le sucre en confiture."<sup>38</sup>

Mais pendant que notre guide médite cette remarque et qu'ensuite il nous explique comment la chasteté peut se comparer à cette considération ménagère, nous voyons des oiseaux voler au-dessus de nous, et l'esprit de Saint François se tourne vers eux: "Comme ces oyseaux ont des nids sur les arbres pour faire leur retraicte . . . ainsi nos cœurs

34. *Intr.*, 3, VII, 96.

35. *Intr.*, 3, XIII, 3.

36. *Intr.*, 2, XX, 71.

37. *Intr.*, 3, XXXVIII, 171.

38. *Intr.*, 3, XII, 109.

doivent prendre et choisir quelque place chaque jour, pour y faire leur retraicte.<sup>39</sup>

Que de leçons nous donnent ces oiseaux! "Ils nous provoquent au réveil et aux louanges de Dieu" en chantant de bon matin, car "ce temps-là est le plus gracieux, le plus doux et le moins embarrassé," et "sert à la santé et à la sainteté." Leur insouciance et leur gaieté, lorsqu'ils "volent et qu'ils chantent à qui mieux mieux" est celle des élus qui "chantent à jamais dedans l'air de la divinité, les louanges du Créateur."<sup>40</sup> Même leur captivité lorsqu'ils "demeurent pris dedans les filets et lacs," nous doit être un exemple. En effet, ils "se débattent et remuent dérèglement pour en sortir, ce que faisant ils s'enveloppent tousjours tant plus." Si nous sommes pris dans "l'inquiétude et l'empressement," souvenons-nous qu'il n'y a rien "qui empire plus le mal et éloigne plus le bien."<sup>41</sup> Ce précepte semble peut-être négatif; et la captivité de l'oiseau a quelquefois des avantages: on l'enferme pour l'empêcher de s'égarer, "come on attache l'épervier . . . afin qu'il demeure dessus le poing"; et nous, de notre côté, nous devons "enfermer notre esprit dans le mystère que nous voulons méditer, afin qu'il n'aille pas courant ça et là."<sup>42</sup>

Saint François de Sales lève les yeux, observe un vol de moineaux, tourbillonnant au-dessus d'un arbre; avec bonhomie, il ramène une idée profonde au plan de cette promenade paisible, en disant: "Comme les oyseaux, où qu'ils volent, rencontrent toujours l'air, où que nous allions, nous treuvons toujours Dieu présent."<sup>43</sup>

Continuant notre promenade, nous arrivons aux ruches, au fond du parc; c'est le coin de prédilection de François de Sales, qui ne tarit pas de renseignements sur la vie des abeilles et sur leur miel, tout en déduisant des principes spirituels d'une affectueuse et patiente observation des ruches; et voici ce qu'il nous dit:

Regardez ces abeilles sur le thin; en le suçent, elles le convertissent en miel, comme la dévotion intérieure et cordiale qui rend les actions douces, agréables et faciles. . . . Elles ne quittent pas la fleur tandis qu'elles y treuvent du miel à recueillir. . . .

Si notre esprit treuve assez de goust, de lumière et de fruit sur l'une des considérations [de la méditation] vous vous y arresterez sans passer plus outre.<sup>44</sup>

Le miel est exquis lorsqu'il est recueilli "ès fleurons des fleurs les plus exquises"; mais de même, l'amour "fondé sur une plus exquise

39. *Intr.*, 2, XII, 55.

40. *Intr.*, 1, XVI, 20.

41. *Intr.*, 4, XI, 196.

42. *Intr.*, 2, II, 44.

43. *Intr.*, 2, II, 47.

44. *Intr.*, 1, II, 8.

communication est le plus excellent."<sup>45</sup> Les fleurs les plus favorables? Celles du thym, qui est cependant une "herbe tout petite et amère," comme les tribulations auxquelles se heurte la vertu doivent la rendre "la plus excellente de toutes."<sup>46</sup>

Saint François répond aux questions qu'on lui pose sur les mœurs des abeilles en expliquant la variété de leurs occupations suivant les saisons. Si le printemps est beau,

. . . elles font plus de miel et moins de mouchons, parce qu'elles . . . s'amuse tant à faire leur cueillette qu'elles en oublient la production de leurs nymphes. Si le printemps est aspre et nubileux, elles font plus de nymphes, car elles ne peuvent sortir pour faire la cueillette du miel.<sup>47</sup>

Ainsi l'âme peut "multiplier les œuvres solides" dans les moments de "stérilité spirituelle" et de tristesse, mais sous aucun prétexte l'âme ne doit-elle penser "aux actions nébuleuses des prochains"; les abeilles, s'il y a "du brouillard ou du temps nébuleux," ne se retirent-elles pas dans leurs ruches "à mesnager le miel?"<sup>48</sup> Et l'on doit se souvenir, à l'égard "des prochains," que "plus un mauvais mot est aigu, plus il pénètre en nos cœurs"; de même, plus un dard est pointu, plus il entre aisément en nos corps."<sup>49</sup>

Nous avons atteint la porte du verger, Saint François de Sales nous donne sa bénédiction et encore une fois, ce sont ses chères avettes qui lui fournissent le texte de sa dernière exhortation:

Comme les abeilles ne demeslent autre chose que le miel avec leur petite bouchette, ainsi vostre langue sera toujours emmiellée de son Dieu, et n'aura point de plus grande suavité que de sentir couler entre vos lèvres des louanges et bénédictions de son nom.<sup>50</sup>

La spontanéité gracieuse des images que nous venons d'examiner provient-elle d'un don de "poésie naturelle . . . qui jaillit assez souvent pour donner une poétique distinction"<sup>51</sup> au talent du saint? Au contraire, ce florilège de comparaisons est-il subordonné à un but précis? Écoutons parler François de Sales lui-même. Les similitudes, dit-il,

. . . ont une efficacité incroyable à bien éclairer l'entendement et à esmouvoir la volonté. On les tire des actions humaines, en passant de l'une à l'autre, des histoires naturelles, des herbes, plantes, animaux, et de la philosophie, et enfin de tout.<sup>52</sup>

45. *Intr.*, 3, XVII, 121.

46. *Intr.*, 3, III, 85.

47. *Intr.*, 4, XIV, 208.

48. *Intr.*, 3, XXVIII, 149.

49. *Intr.*, 3, XXVII, 146.

50. *Intr.*, 3, XXVI, 142.

51. Strowski, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

52. Saint François de Sales, *Œuvres*, XII, 317.

Son but? Gagner des âmes à la dévotion, dont le visage est d'ordinaire triste et chagrin, et souvent rebutant; pour lui, la dévotion "sert de feu en hiver et de rosée en été"; et pour convaincre ses fidèles, quoi de plus charmant que ces "histoires naturelles," ces images familières qui évoquent la faune et la flore connues de tout le monde, quoi de plus propre à amener un sourire attendri sur les lèvres des Philothées? Ainsi la dévotion leur semblera douce, accessible et désirable, et c'est le plus cher désir du saint directeur d'âmes.

Toutefois, si l'abondance de "similitudes" cache un but pratique et pédagogique, rien de forcé dans ces ruisseaux de miel et ces battements d'ailes. L'étude du style de François de Sales révèle que très peu d'images ont été retouchées, sauf celle de la bouquetière Glycera, qui, elle, n'est pas originale et qui sans doute était alourdie d'abord par l'imitation même; en effet, la version définitive est allégée, devient plus élégante et gracieuse.<sup>53</sup> Les seules retouches de détail ne visent qu'à "renforcer la pensée, au moins indirectement, en lui donnant un surcroît d'agrément."

Tout chez Saint François de Sales conspirait à former en son esprit ces sources vives de comparaisons imagées. Sa formation, religieuse et littéraire, et son goût très vif pour Virgile; son amour pour la nature familière, développé par le hasard providentiel qui le fit naître dans une région fertile aux paysages harmonieux, devait ajouter la note de spontanéité qui aurait manqué à une culture purement livresque. Enfin, le grand courant social du développement de l'agriculture, encouragé par Henri IV et Sully, qui avait lieu à cette époque même, contribua peut-être au goût du public pour des comparaisons et images champêtres. Ces éléments variés ne pouvaient manquer de former "les ruisseaux d'une source pure et féconde," grâce à laquelle les maximes du saint allaient "s'insinuer agréablement dans l'âme des lecteurs."<sup>54</sup> C'est ce qui faisait dire à Bussy-Rabutin, dans une lettre à Madame de Sévigné, avec une image digne de François de Sales lui-même: "Sauvons-nous avec notre bon parent Saint François de Sales: il conduit les gens en Paradis par de beaux chemins."<sup>55</sup>

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53. Cf. F. Vincent, *Le Travail du style chez Saint François de Sales*, Paris, 1923.

54. Strowski, *op. cit.*, p. 207. Cette citation provient de la Bulle de canonisation du Saint.

55. Cité par Vincent, *Saint François de Sales directeur d'âmes*, p. 546.

## LITTLE-KNOWN SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE EIGHTEENTH- CENTURY FRENCH THEATRE

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THERE ARE a number of works offering bibliographical and other information concerning the eighteenth-century French theatre which have long been known and which have been extensively used. Most of these are noted in Lanson's *Manuel* and they appear frequently in the bibliographies appended to scholarly works in this field. Auguste Rondel's pamphlet entitled *La Bibliographie et les collections de théâtre*, published in 1914, contains a more extensive descriptive, but uncritical, listing of these sources of information. Although a few comments will be made on several of these sources, the purpose of this article is to call attention to some additional material which has been little utilized and which, because of its importance, deserves to be better known.

For the eighteenth-century French theatre the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses the most extensive collection of material, despite the fact that it lacks many hundreds of printed plays. It does, however, have more of these plays than is evident from a casual perusal of its various catalogues. Unusually diligent search and sometimes special expert assistance is required to determine whether certain works are to be found in this library. No other library can ever expect to possess an item approaching in importance the several thousand manuscript plays from the Soleinne collection, although these manuscripts have been very carelessly catalogued and indeed some of them do not figure in the catalogue at all.

Among the manuscripts in this library there is one above all whose particular importance as a source of information on the theatre has not been sufficiently recognized. This is the *Dictionnaire des ouvrages dramatiques*<sup>1</sup> compiled by Henri Duval during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Its fourteen volumes present an impressive list, though probably not more than a third of the French plays composed during the eighteenth century are noted.<sup>2</sup> Duval had the happy idea of searching through the records of the police censor to whom all plays had to be submitted for approval before presentation. In this way he discovered a considerable number of plays previously quite unknown as

1. Fonds français 15048-61.

2. There is some evidence that Duval consulted most of the manuscripts, but not the printed plays, in Soleinne's collection.

well as additional facts about plays of which little was known. Most of these plays were destined for the so-called "théâtres des boulevards" which flourished during the last twenty years before the Revolution. Duval's listings enable us to add greatly to our knowledge of the repertories of these popular theatres. This is the chief importance of his dictionary as far as the eighteenth century is concerned, though he does offer a certain amount of other original information. One disconcerting feature of this dictionary is the fact that the same play is not infrequently listed in two or three different places with variations in the date or in other details. In some instances this may be attributed to the fact that it was a common practice of the "théâtres des boulevards" to revive plays that they had given earlier. Duval may now and then have mistaken such revivals for the original performances.

The Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris has had a valuable accumulation of dramatic literature since the eighteenth century. In recent times significant additions have been made to it by the Rondel and Douay collections. Today this library is regarded as the most important center for scholarly research in the French theatre. In general terms this is true, but for the eighteenth century this library still remains second to the Bibliothèque Nationale in the quantity of material that it contains.

The Rondel collection, now well known, though not particularly rich in the number of its eighteenth-century items is nevertheless of great value in this field because a very considerable number of these items are very rare and not to be found in other Parisian libraries. It is unfortunate that the collection is inexpertly catalogued and that already an occasional volume is reported as "introuvable."

I should like to call special attention to the *Catalogue Douay* which the Arsenal possesses. This is a manuscript bibliography of French plays to the preparation of which the donor of the collection that bears his name devoted a good part of his life. It is arranged chronologically, eleven volumes being devoted to the eighteenth century. It contains a certain amount of information not to be found elsewhere. For several reasons it is an irritating work to use. Most of the entries are lacking in some of the most elementary bibliographical details. Furthermore they are all written in a hand which for illegibility passes all belief. Certain entries have defied every effort to decipher them. To make any considerable use of this catalogue one is first obliged to study it as an exercise in paleography.

There is also the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, located at 29, rue de Sévigné. This library has had to be entirely reconstituted



since it was destroyed by fire during the Commune. Little or no use has been made by scholars of the eighteenth-century theatre of the collections to be found here. The number of printed plays for this theatre is relatively small, though there are some not to be found in the other libraries of Paris. This is particularly true for plays performed at private theatres and in church schools.<sup>3</sup> It is the manuscript collection which is of special interest and importance. Only a few hundred of the manuscripts have been catalogued. The rest of the collection of several thousand manuscripts has, to quote the librarian, "been dead since it began to be formed some fifty years ago." With the coöperation of the librarian the writer was able to discover nearly one hundred and fifty eighteenth-century plays in this uncatalogued collection. There are probably more which are bound in with manuscripts of other types and which are not easily detectable.<sup>4</sup> The existence of some of these plays is revealed for the first time. A number have been known hitherto only by title. As examples mention may be made of an unrecorded manuscript of "parades" by Gueullette, some of which are unknown;<sup>5</sup> three early plays by Carolet, known only by title; and the only known manuscripts of a number of plays by Favart, Pannard, Fuzelier, and others.

A situation similar to that at the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris exists with respect to the manuscripts in the Archives of the Comédie-Française. According to the archivist no attempt has been made to catalogue these manuscripts. The whole collection, representing all periods, is piled away in the greatest disorder. From time to time a researcher has succeeded, in spite of administrative difficulties, in seeing one or two of these manuscripts, so that the existence of a few of them has been ascertained. There has been no knowledge, however, of what the collection as a whole may contain. The present writer succeeded, after patient effort, in seeing between forty and fifty of the manuscripts of eighteenth-century plays. What percentage this number represents for this period cannot be stated, though the writer was told that he had been shown all that could be found. These plays range all the way from well-known ones by Marivaux and Voltaire to compositions of obscure or anonymous authors. There are even several plays that were performed at other theatres or never performed. The majority of the plays in the collection are *souffleur's* copies. This fact does not deprive

3. For the period of the Revolution and the first half of the nineteenth century there is a considerable collection of published plays.

4. It is also quite possible that there are manuscripts of seventeenth-century plays in this collection.

5. Unknown to J. E. Gueullette when he published his *Thomas-Simon Gueullette*, Paris, 1938.



them of a certain value, however. In some instances no other copy of the play is known. In the case of printed plays it may not infrequently be of interest to compare the published version with the acting version.

One more Parisian library offers important source material in manuscript form, namely, the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra. Here are to be found the *Registres de l'Opéra-Comique*. They were discovered only relatively recently, which accounts in part for the little use that has been made of them. In reality these are the records of the Théâtre-Italien beginning with the year 1717, and later including those of the Opéra-Comique after the two troupes were obliged to join forces in 1762. These records resemble those maintained at the Comédie-Française. For the period 1717-1794 there are sixty-one volumes of expense accounts, in itemized form for each performance.<sup>6</sup> About twenty-four of these volumes are missing. In addition to the expense accounts there is one volume containing a very brief history of the Théâtre-Italien up to 1780.<sup>7</sup> Another volume is a more or less chronological list of the members of the troupe, giving the dates of their joining and leaving the company. There are also a few volumes devoted to minutes of the meetings of the troupe, the rental of boxes, dealings with "fournisseurs," and so on. In short, here is a mine of information that has been little exploited about an important theatre concerning which a considerable amount of research remains to be done. Such investigation, however, in order that the greatest profit may be derived from it, should be undertaken under the direction of skilled scholars.

In addition to the manuscript material which has just been described, there are several printed works which merit equal consideration. The most extensive of these is the *Almanach des spectacles*,<sup>8</sup> published annually from 1751 through the century, with the exception of a few years during the Revolution. This publication is a kind of year-book of the officially subsidized theatres of Paris, including the Opera. In it there is a variety of information such as one would expect to find in a work of this type. The repertory of each of these theatres during the preceding year is given in detail, with an outline of the plot of most of the plays. There is a list of the actors and the members of the orchestras of the several theatres. Each volume contains what purports to be a catalogue of all the dramatic compositions which these theatres have presented

6. The existing volumes of the *Registre* cover the following dates: July 1717-May 1718, April 1721-March 1723, June 1723-March 1725, April 1728-February 1729, May 1729-January 1731, April 1731-March 1733, April 1735-March 1737, 1740-1794.

7. To be strictly accurate, each of the first four volumes contains an identical copy of this history.

8. After 1754 entitled *Les Spectacles de Paris*.

since their founding. There are various items of miscellaneous information. One of the most valuable features are the current lists of living authors with the titles of all their plays, performed or not performed, published and unpublished. Some of the items here are mentioned nowhere else. For a publication of this type the material in these volumes is very trustworthy.

The *Almanach forain*, issued sporadically from 1773 to 1786, under various titles<sup>9</sup> and by several editors, represents an effort to provide a similar publication devoted to the smaller, popular theatres of Paris. Its information is less detailed and less complete than that in the *Almanach des spectacles*, and the editing is less carefully done. Its chief value is its listing of the productions of these smaller theatres whose repertory has never been established. The monographs which have been published on several of these theatres are quite incomplete in this respect.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately the *Almanach forain* covers relatively few years.

Scholars have made little use of these two publications. This is probably not due so much to the fact that they are badly printed in minute type and very small format as to the fact that they are very rare. The writer knows of only four complete sets of the *Almanach des spectacles*, which are located respectively in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, and the libraries of the University of California at Berkeley and of Columbia University. There are nearly complete sets in the New York Public Library and in the libraries of the University of Michigan and the University of California at Los Angeles. So far as the writer is aware, it is impossible to locate all the volumes of the *Almanach forain* and its continuations. Scattered volumes may be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris, and the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. None has been located in the United States.

In this summary fashion, but, it is hoped, with sufficient essential detail, an indication has been given of the character and location of certain source material which it is believed will be of interest and value to inquiring scholars and to directors of research.

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9. Other titles: *Les Spectacles des foires et des boulevards de Paris*, *Les Spectacles de la foire*, *Les Petits Spectacles de Paris*.

10. Such studies as Lecomte's on the Variétés-Amusantes, Péricaud's on the Théâtre des Beaujolais, and Batcave's on the Petits Comédiens du Bois de Boulogne offer very incomplete repertories.

## MARIVAUX AND MUSSET

LES SERMENTS INDISCRETS AND ON NE BADINE PAS AVEC L'AMOUR

MOST FRENCH critics agree that several of Musset's comedies show traces of the direct influence of Marivaux. Musset has either reworked a whole play to suit his own taste, as in *L'Ane et le ruisseau*, inspired by *Le Legs*,<sup>1</sup> or expanded a single scene to make a new play, as in *Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée*, based on the tenth scene of *Le Legs*,<sup>2</sup> or borrowed the dramatic device of the lover who assumes a disguise to observe his future wife, as in *Fantasio*<sup>3</sup> and *Il ne faut jurer de rien*, suggested by *Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard*, or adopted a certain attitude, a certain pose, as in *Un Caprice*, reminiscent of Marivaux's *L'Heureux Stratagème*.<sup>4</sup> Definite traces of Marivaux's influence, then, have been suggested for five of Musset's plays. In view of the fact that the latter's total dramatic production was not large (nineteen plays in all, including the *dramas*), the substantialness of Marivaux's influence can scarcely be denied.

One of the more recent critics of Musset, however, M. Pierre Gastinel, questions the directness of this influence because of Musset's failure to allude in any way to the work of his predecessor. He admits that Musset's plays often make one think of Marivaux, but maintains:

... Il y a là une rencontre plus qu'une influence; tous deux se plaisent aux subtilités de l'analyse; tous deux aiment mêler l'imagination à la réalité, et nuancer de mélancolie l'ironie; surtout, l'un comme l'autre, ils ne trouvent rien qui soit plus intéressant que l'homme, rien de plus attrayant que de démontrer le mécanisme humain, rien de plus admirable que de lui redonner le mouvement et la vie; voilà l'essentiel.<sup>5</sup>

The characteristics which M. Gastinel mentions as common to both authors are of a general nature and do not necessarily account for resemblances in specific details. Musset was not an author who disdained the example of the masters;<sup>6</sup> consequently, it is reasonable to

1. J. Fleury, *Marivaux et le marivaudage*, Paris, 1881, p. 303; G. Larroumet, *Marivaux, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1894, p. 508; E. Lintilhac, *Histoire générale du théâtre en France*, Paris, n.d., v, 289.

2. Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 303; L. Lafoscade, *Le Théâtre d'Alfred de Musset*, Paris, 1901, p. 187; A. Le Breton, *Le Théâtre romantique*, Paris, n.d., p. 159.

3. Lintilhac, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

4. Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 303; Larroumet, *op. cit.*, p. 508; Lintilhac, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

5. *Le Romantisme d'Alfred de Musset*, Paris, 1933, p. 268.

6. He says, for example: "On m'a reproché . . . d'imiter et de m'inspirer de certains hommes et de certaines œuvres. Je réponds franchement qu'au lieu de me le reprocher on aurait dû m'en louer. . . . Voler une pensée, un mot, doit être regardé comme un crime

suppose that similar talents and similar interests would make Marivaux's comedies especially attractive to him.

It is certain that Musset had a first-hand acquaintance with the works of Marivaux. The edition in ten volumes of Marivaux's complete works, published by Duviquet from 1825-1830, was in the library of Alfred and Paul de Musset.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, this edition of Marivaux's plays, the first complete edition since 1781, followed an unprecedented revival of his comedies on the contemporary stage. Marivaux had never been very popular during the eighteenth century, but during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, thanks to the efforts of the celebrated actress, Mlle Mars, his plays enjoyed extraordinary success at the Comédie-Française. This success, alluded to by Sarcey,<sup>8</sup> can best be shown by contrasting the number of performances of his plays given during the last three decades of the eighteenth century with the number given during the first three decades of the nineteenth.<sup>9</sup>

YEARS	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES
1771-1780	85
1781-1790	77
1791-1800	55
1801-1810	206
1811-1820	280
1821-1830	169

Musset, who was a precocious child, began to attend the theater at an early age and must certainly have witnessed some of these performances.

Musset himself does not allude to this revival of interest in Marivaux, but Sainte-Beuve's testimony to the effect which the dramatist had upon the generation of 1830 is pertinent:

... le gracieux interprète qu'il a retrouvé sur la scène, cette actrice inimitable qui a débuté par ses rôles malins et ingénus, leur a rendu à nos yeux toute leur jeunesse. ... Nos spirituels ou poétiques auteurs de petites comédies, de proverbes, de spectacles dans un fauteuil, ont reconnu en Marivaux un aîné sinon un maître, et lui ont rendu plus d'un hommage en le rappelant ou en l'imitant.<sup>10</sup>

There can be no doubt that these last words refer to Musset.

In discussing Musset's masterpiece, *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*,

en littérature. . . . Mais s'inspirer d'un maître est une action non-seulement permise, mais louable. . . ." *Comédies et Proverbes*, Paris, Charpentier, 1900, I, v-vi, *passim*.

7. Lafoscade, *op. cit.*, p. 56, n. 2; p. 183, n. 4.

8. *Quarante Ans de théâtre*, Paris, 1900-1902, II, 256.

9. Table compiled from A. Joannidès, *La Comédie-Française de 1680 à 1900*, Paris, 1901.

10. *Causeries du lundi*, IX (Paris, 1869), 379-380, *passim*.

critics rarely mention any direct borrowing from Marivaux. Paul de Musset suggests in passing that the subject of *On ne badine pas avec l'amour* is somewhat analogous to the *Dépit amoureux* of Molière and observes further that Musset's play, published in 1834, bears traces of the moral crisis through which his brother Alfred was passing at that time.<sup>11</sup> While the play unmistakably reflects the personal feelings of the author, the particular experience to which Paul de Musset refers was very probably not the primary source of his inspiration. For some time Alfred de Musset had had in his mind the plan for a comedy to be called *Camille et Perdican*, and for which he had already written an introduction in verse.<sup>12</sup> It was this play, rewritten and completed in prose, which became *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*. Lafoscade finds reminiscences of *Clarissa Harlowe* in Musset's play.<sup>13</sup> In courting Rosette to spite Camille, Perdican does play a rôle which recalls that of Lovelace. Nevertheless, as Lafoscade hastens to add, the subject and general situation of Musset's play are quite different. Another source of inspiration is suggested by Larroumet, who is of the opinion that Musset's play is Marivaux's *Le Petit-Maitre corrigé* in modern dress.<sup>14</sup> He does not definitely state his reasons for this conclusion and it is difficult to see on what it is based. Possibly the free and easy manner in which Perdican admits to Camille that he has loved before recalls the tone used by Rosimond in one of his early conversations with Hortense, although the situations in the two plays are very different. For M. Alphonse Séché, it is not possible even to mention the name of Marivaux in connection with *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*; only plays of the contemporary theater approach Musset's play in depth of psychological analysis and tragic simplicity.<sup>15</sup>

Notes of tragic simplicity are, of course, generally absent from the classical comedies of Marivaux. In at least one of his plays, however, the situation is potentially serious and, as the author was well aware, might easily have become tragic. Marivaux himself describes thus the subject of his *Serments indiscrets*, the first play in Volume II of the edition of Marivaux in the Musset library:

Dans cette pièce-ci, il est question de deux personnes qui s'aiment d'abord, et qui le savent, mais qui se sont engagés de n'en rien témoigner, et qui passent leur temps à lutter contre la difficulté de garder leur parole en la violant. . . .<sup>16</sup>

11. *Biographie d'Alfred de Musset*, Paris, 1884, pp. 136-137.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Op. cit.*, pp. 94-96.

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 508.

15. Notice to *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*, in *Comédies et Proverbes*, Paris, Nelson, 1936, I, 251.

16. Page 5.

Musset might equally well have chosen these words to describe *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*. The general similarity between the subject of the two plays is very striking. What is more important, a comparative analysis of the two plays reveals the fundamental resemblance, as well as the fundamental difference, between the technique of Marivaux and that of Musset in the development of the same theme.

In Marivaux's play, Lucile's father has promised her in marriage to Damis, the son of an old friend. On the day arranged for their first meeting, each young person has already decided not to marry the other, Lucile because of an exaggerated idea of the disagreeableness and inconstancy of husbands, Damis because of a desire to safeguard his liberty. Vanity prevents them from admitting that this first meeting has given each one an unexpectedly favorable impression of the other, and both promise to protect mutual interests by showing definite distaste for the proposed marriage. In order not to disappoint their parents and to enable Damis to withdraw from the situation gracefully, Lucile suggests that he feign an interest in her sister, Phénice. In time, Damis' attention to Phénice arouses Lucile's jealousy and makes her conscious of her love for Damis. Meanwhile, Lucile's father, believing Damis to be in love with Phénice, suggests that he marry her instead of Lucile. Phénice, who is more enlightened than her father in regard to the true feelings of Lucile, pretends to accept the proposal in order to torment her sister and bring her to her senses. Damis, too honorable to refuse and piqued by the apparent indifference of Lucile, consents to the marriage. When things seem least promising for Lucile and Damis, Phénice reveals the reason for her conduct, the lovers are reconciled, and everything ends happily.

*On ne badine pas avec l'amour* is so well-known that it needs no summary. Certain analogies to the plot of Marivaux's play are obvious. The heroines in both plays refuse to admit their love until compelled to do so. By the end of the first act, the hero in each play is determined to feign indifference to the heroine and is more successful some times than others in maintaining this attitude. In both cases it is the attention which the hero pays to a sister, or a foster-sister, which ultimately leads the heroine to realize and admit an ill-concealed love.

The resemblances between the heroines of the two plays are no less striking. The characteristics which we see in Lucile are reflected and intensified in Camille. Both young girls are skeptical of the permanence of marriage vows, thoughtless and impulsive, selfish and cruel when their own desires are at stake, and, above all, extremely unstable. As Lucile says herself:

... Je l'aimais ce matin, je ne l'aime pas ce soir... dans la confusion d'idées que tout cela me donne à moi, il arrive, en vérité, que je me perds de vue. Non, je ne suis pas sûre de mon état; cela n'est-il pas désagréable?<sup>17</sup>

Camille, too, admits that she is "d'humeur changeante. . ."<sup>18</sup>

Unlike the heroines, the heroes bear no particular resemblance to each other except for the common characteristic of pride. Damis is the polite *honnête homme* of early eighteenth-century society. Like Perdican, he suffers from wounded vanity; unlike Perdican, he does not give impassioned, lyric expression to his emotions.

Both Marivaux and Musset were interested primarily in the psychological analysis of love. In contradistinction to all other writers of French comedy, both men centered their attention almost exclusively on the problems which love creates for itself, leaving to others the study of those problems which love must solve when confronted with certain social and moral restrictions. As Marivaux very neatly explains:

Chez mes confrères, l'amour est en querelle avec tout ce qui l'environne, et finit par être heureux malgré les opposants; chez moi, il n'est en querelle qu'avec lui seul, et finit par être heureux malgré lui.<sup>19</sup>

In *Les Serments indiscrets*, true to form, the obstacles to the lovers' final understanding are not imposed from without; they arise from the lovers' own fears and misunderstandings.

In Musset's play, the same *méfiance*, the same *amour-propre* motivate the actions of the lovers and create all their difficulties. Like Lucile and Damis, Camille and Perdican are freed of the struggle against external obstacles. Musset, then, adopts the same point of departure as Marivaux; it is his solution to the problem that distinguishes his work from that of his predecessor. Here, as in most of Musset's plays, emotions are more intense and quarrels more serious. In the game of love and chance as conceived by Musset, chance prevails, and love, which has selfishly struggled against itself, ends not in triumph, but in disaster.

Although everything ends happily in the eighteenth-century play, Marivaux was certainly aware of the potentially tragic ending to which the initial situation in *Les Serments indiscrets* might very plausibly lead. He makes Lucile reproach herself and Lisette in the course of the play for having turned Damis' attention to her sister:

... Y a-t-il de cruauté pareille au piège que vous lui tendez? Vous faites le malheur de sa vie, et elle y tombe... il n'y a point de jeu dans cette affaire-ci. Damis

17. Act v, scene 2.

18. Act II, scene 5.

19. Larroumet, *op. cit.*, p. 170, n. 1. The words are quoted on the authority of D'Alembert.



lui-même sera peut-être forcé de l'épouser malgré lui: c'est perdre deux personnes à la fois; ce sont deux destinées que je rends funestes; c'est un reproche éternel à me faire, et je suis désolée.<sup>20</sup>

Words of such tragic import are not common in the plays of Marivaux and arrest attention when they do occur. Lucile is spared the tragic unhappiness latent in the situation she has herself created only because her sister generously disregards her own feelings for the sake of Lucile's happiness. Camille's simple foster-sister is not capable of such a sacrifice.

The similarity between the tragedy which Lucile fears and the *dénouement* of *On ne badine pas avec l'amour* tempts one to conclude that Marivaux may have inspired Musset to write a play with the tragic ending. A dramatic, unexpectedly sad ending was quite in keeping with Musset's own general preferences, as he explains in contrasting his work with that of Scribe:

... quand Scribe commence une pièce, un acte, ou une scène, il sait toujours d'où il part, par où il passe, et où il arrive. De là sans doute un *mérite de ligne droite* qui donne grande solidité à ce qu'il écrit. Mais de là aussi un manque de souplesse et d'imprévu. Il est trop logique; il ne perd jamais la tête. Moi, au contraire... il m'arrive tout à coup de changer de route, de culbutter mon propre plan, de me retourner contre mon personnage préféré, et de le faire battre par son interlocuteur...<sup>21</sup>

The sudden, excessive violence of the ending in *On ne badine pas avec l'amour* was in accord not only with Musset's tastes, but also with the spirit of the Romantic era, even as the too conveniently happy ending of Marivaux's play reflects the spirit of an age which viewed its emotions less seriously. Personal experience, too, had taught Musset that love affairs do not always end happily. As a Romantic and a Modern, life appeared more complex to him than to his predecessor. By portraying life as it is, by allowing tragedy to mingle with comedy, perhaps even to overshadow it, Musset renewed and transformed the classical play of Marivaux.

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20. Act II, scene 5.

21. *Souvenirs* of Legouvé, quoted by L. Séché, *Alfred de Musset*, Paris, 1907, I, 53.



## VIOLENCE AS A TECHNIQUE IN THE DRAMAS AND DRAMATIZATIONS OF DUMAS PÈRE

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ALEXANDRE DUMAS the elder has an appeal for popular and scholarly reader alike. The present study of his dramas springs from this appeal, is undertaken because of his fame as a novelist, and is inspired by an interest in the problems of fiction. This is no paradox. Dumas is remembered today largely for his romances; yet he began his career with a drama, and, like Voltaire, he was fascinated by the stage throughout his life. Once more it is true: scratch a novelist and you find a playwright.<sup>1</sup> The dramatic works of a man like Dumas present an interesting aspect of the general problem of the relations of fiction and the theatre. Because of this, and because scenes of violence, with which we are particularly concerned here, often find their most effective form upon the stage; and finally because every study demands a certain simplification, it seems preferable to *approach* Dumas rather as dramatist than novelist.

A critic may perhaps object that Dumas' dramas are justly buried in oblivion, or at least are fittingly disposed of by Gustave Lanson: "Surtout Dumas a le sens de l'action. . . . Il a inventé, ou exploité plus qu'on n'avait fait avant lui un certain genre de pathétique: celui qui naît d'une angoisse physique, devant la souffrance physique."<sup>2</sup> One can only answer, first, that no talent is deservedly forgotten, and, second, that the problems of tempo, action, and the technique of violence<sup>3</sup> are important enough to justify the present study: that is—a qualitative review of the violent scenes in Dumas' sixty-six collected plays.<sup>4</sup>

Before launching into our analysis, let us adopt for novel and drama a convenient tripartite arrangement of their many and various elements. Let us attempt further a classification that will include, however roughly, both the psychological and logical phases of these two art forms—that will comprehend, in other words, the point of view of both

1. Cf. Arthur W. Pinero, *Robert Louis Stevenson as a Dramatist*, Papers on Playmaking, iv, of the Dramatic Museum of Columbia University, 1914; W. S. Hastings, *The Dramas of Honoré de Balzac*, Baltimore, 1917; Ramon Fernandez, "Le Message de Meredith," *Messages*, Paris, Gallimard, 1926; F. B. Van Amerongen, *The Actor in Dickens*, New York, Appleton, 1927; etc., etc.

2. G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, 21<sup>e</sup> éd., pp. 977-978.

3. Cf. the present writer's "Speed as a Technique in the Novels of Balzac," *PMLA*, March 1940.

4. Calmann-Lévy, 25 vols., 1889-1899.

reader and writer of fiction, both spectator and performer of drama. On this basis, we may say that the three fundamentals of the novel are: the attitude of the tale-teller and his listeners, the raw material of the narrative, and the author's critical depiction and judgment of life. Similarly, drama has its tripartite basis in the Play (or Illusion), the Show (or Spectacle), and the Struggle; and in this analysis we have preferred Anglo-Saxon terms, not necessarily because "the voice of the people uttereth only truth," but because the frequent occurrence of these terms in popular speech indicates how clearly even the uncritical realize the elements and properties of dramatic art.

*Play* is a word much misused in the vernacular, yet in its connotation of "Illusion" it represents doubtless the most fundamental element of drama—the child-like "let's pretend" of actor and watcher which corresponds to the "tell me a story" attitude in fiction. *Show* is (in the Elizabethan sense of the term) that which is shown and seen, the raw material of drama—so necessary an attribute that it is often vulgarly mistaken for the whole scope of dramatic art, ranging as it does from pure spectacle at one extreme to the careful depiction of emotion, character, and background. *Struggle* is the element of drama which has been, since the Greeks at least, its most thorough means of interest and suspense, related to the savage joy in physical conflict and the civilized devotion to sport, and elevated by critics since Aristotle into the noblest fundamental of dramatic art. In other words, drama is based on the play instinct, is made evident by show, and makes its appeal largely through struggle. Let us use these three elements in evaluating the violent scenes of Alexandre Dumas père.

PLAY. The illusion of vitality is characteristic of the dramas of Dumas. The dramatist—an exemplar of bodily prowess and animal appetite, one of these nineteenth-century Rabelaisians, like Balzac and Gautier and Hugo—revelled in his own physical exuberance, and revealed this very personal trait in his dramas,<sup>5</sup> especially in two characters which are himself in very thin disguise: Porthos and D'Artagnan. Porthos, as we know, was addicted to feats of strength and food-consumption—traits which he shares with his creator. The Porthos ideal inspires such scenes as the following: the actor Kean blackening a prize-fighter's eye;

5. Invaluable and indispensable is the work of F. W. Reed, *A Bibliography of Alexander Dumas Père*, London, Neuhuys, 1933; much material is also to be found in H. Parigot, *Le Drame d'Alexandre Dumas*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1899. Both are especially good for biographical elements in Dumas' plays. There is a pleasant description of the "playful" fantasy of Dumas in Léon Daudet, *La Tragique Existence de Victor Hugo*, Paris, Michel, 1937, pp. 168-172, etc.

a Scottish laird drubbing a whole troop of varlets; Catilina hurling a gigantic discus into the river Tiber; Gorenflot, a Renaissance monk, consuming great quantities of food.<sup>6</sup> Such scenes are never very deceptive: they are consistently on the level of "let's pretend." The spectator of course realizes the exaggeration of these incidents and characters, but rejoices in the pretence, the illusion, the "fun."

Where Porthos makes a muscular appeal to the play instinct, D'Artagnan appeals because of his quicker wit and nimbler grace. He is a subtler character, but none the less reminiscent of his creator. The D'Artagnan type is revealed by a mannerism or trick of speech. Thus Buridan strides vaingloriously into *La Tour de Nesle*: "J'ai fait vingt ans de guerre; j'ai fait vingt ans d'amour." A gambler cries: "Je jouerais la peste que je voudrais la gagner." Another, accused of trickery, laughs: "C'est peut-être vrai, mais je n'aime pas qu'on me le dise," and throws the dice in his adversary's face. The effect is not glaringly original: its relations with the tricks of the popular dramatist are obvious; yet these terse speeches are sufficiently characteristic and frequent to merit some title: they might be referred to as D'Artagnanesque language. Similar bravura passages occur in many plays; indeed, there are two D'Artagnanesque characters in *La Reine Margot*, and the Gascon makes a last triumphant bow as the jester Chicot of *La Dame de Monsoreau*.<sup>7</sup> D'Artagnan always delights by his impertinence: he, like Porthos, represents drama at the level of "play." Thus, D'Artagnan and Porthos, despite superficial differences, are brothers under the skin and children of Dumas: brawn and brains, they are united by their kinetic appeal.

The appeal to the play instinct is likewise evident when the author depicts—as he obviously enjoys doing—turbulent election scenes, whether in modern England or Republican Rome. Similarly, we feel he takes a playful pleasure in confronting his characters with the apparatus of the torture chamber. And in his comedies he usually finds a physical or playful basis for mirth: the change of a youth's voice, or two Scotsmen who turn London street-corners until they become giddy. An element of very physical "pretence" is also discoverable in the description of the debilities of Catilina in the play of that name; and in

6. Porthos: *Kean*, III, 4; *Le Laird de Dumbiky*, I, 1; *Le Comte Hermann*, I, 1; *Catilina*, II, 7; *Les Mousquetaires*, VI, 4. Eating: *La Tour Saint-Jacques*, III, 3; *La Dame de Monsoreau*, V, 5.—References are by act and scene, the Roman numeral marking the tableau (if the play is so divided) or the act.

7. D'Artagnan: *La Tour de Nesle*, I, 3; *Un Mariage sous Louis XV*, I, 8; *Halifax*, Pr. 5; *La Jeunesse des Mousquetaires*, II, 3; V, 3; *Les Mousquetaires*, X, 2; *La Reine Margot*, II, 9; *La Dame de Monsoreau*, X, 5.

*La Dame de Monsoreau* Dumas makes the reader and spectator actually feel the shivering of the cold-blooded "mignons": this is his way of emphasizing their effeminacy.<sup>8</sup> However, it must be added that episodes like these represent a transition from the "illusory" to the spectacular or picturesque phase of dramatic action.

SHOW. This second type of violence is achieved in Dumas' plays largely by devices of make-up, costume, stage-decoration, local color, and gesture. As for make-up, it would be tedious to list the examples of blood and bruises: a severed human head is brought forth from a cask (reminiscent of a similar trick in Shakespeare's *Richard III*); or Cassandra is shown with an axe in her skull.<sup>9</sup> As a device of stage-decoration, the simulation of dizzy height by means of precipices, gulfs, high windows, vertiginous ruins, is just as frequent: the most gory episode is that of the Vampire who is hurled to his death at the foot of a precipice.<sup>10</sup> This is stage-decoration with a kinetic appeal.

Such violent and spectacular effects as these come mostly from the bag of tricks of actor, stage-carpenter, and artificer of melodrama. "Show" of a higher level is the local color by which the Romantic School set great store. Dumas is an obedient Romantic in this respect; yet, in addition, he betrays—as one will note by listing the settings and periods of his plays—a remarkable search for the violent phases of period and locale. Thus, beginning with his *exotic* settings:

*Classical*: Caligula hurling his consul to a murderous mob; punishment by strangling, burial alive, or artery-severing; slaves thrown to man-eating lamprey-eels; turbulent crowds.

*British*: noisy elections; prize-fighting and fisticuffs in general; acrobatics; Scotch claymores.

*German*: consumptives (who spit blood); cruel doctors; sadistic sons; and characteristic (*Sturm und Drang*) misunderstandings between father and son, or uncle and nephew.

*Italian*: use of poignards; the Corsican vendetta.

8. "Play" elements: *Richard Darlington*, II; *Catilina*, V; *La Reine Margot*, XI, 9; *La Guerre des femmes*, VI, 1; *Le Chevalier d'Harmental*, VI, 2. Comedy: *L'Invitation à la valse*, Scs. II, 12; *L'Envers d'une conspiration*, II, 6. Medical and physical: *Catilina*, III; *La Dame de Monsoreau*, II, 1.

9. Blood: *Charles VII chez ses grands vassaux*, IV, 3; *La Tour de Nesle*, IX, 4; *Caligula*, Pr. 9; *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge*, X, 1; *Catilina*, I, 10; II, 8; VI, 9; *Les Blancs et les Bleus*, VI, 6; *Les Mohicans de Paris*, I, 10; *L'Orestie*, I, 12.

10. Precipices, etc.: *Le Vampire*, VIII; *La Noce et l'Enterrement*, III (burial alive); *Henri III et sa cour*, V; *Christine*, Pr.; *Richard Darlington*, IV; VIII, 3; *Don Juan de Marana*, I, 5; VI, 3; *Le Roman d'Elvire*, II, 13, 17. Also: *La Tour de Nesle*, Kean, *Caligula*, Paul Jones, *Lorenzino*, *Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr*, *Le Laird de Dumbiky*, *La Reine Margot*, *Monte-Cristo* (1), *Villefort*, *La Jeunesse des mousquetaires*, *La Guerre des femmes*, *La Tour Saint-Jacques*, *La Dame de Monsoreau*.

*Spanish and Oriental*: truculence between brothers or between father and son; duelling; patricide, or mortal insult offered to a father.<sup>11</sup>

And, continuing with the French *period* settings:

*Medieval*: towers and dungeons; rough mobs; thieving gypsies (in the fashion of Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*); the madness of Charles VI (very much after Shakespeare's manner).

*Renaissance*: religious wars; blood feuds; the poisons of Catherine de Medicis and her astrologer; sword-play in profusion.

*Louis XIII period*: musketeers; duels; religious wars.

*Louis XIV*: elegance; Fronde; civil war and religious persecution.

*Regency*: musketeer characters still; the secret police of Cardinal Dubois.

*Louis XV*: elegant and cynical immorality; duelling.

*Revolution and Empire*: the howling mob as in Republican Rome or Democratic Britain; saber-to-chest attitude and challenge: "Au nom de la République!"<sup>12</sup>

This catalogue discloses that, except for such obviously "elegant" periods as that of Louis XIV, Dumas emphasizes the violent shades of exotic and historical color; further, that he seems to have studied each period and locale sufficiently well to find material for at least three plays apiece.

Dumas' "modern" plays have certainly a more restricted setting; yet they too have their violent color: the Byronic hero, the dying consumptive, rape, abduction, clandestine *accouchements*, and the duel.<sup>13</sup> Even so, the colorful exuberance of all these plays—exotic, historical, and modern—cannot conceal the fact that Dumas has achieved here little that is altogether original. He has merely emphasized in a rather athletic way the spectacular effects of the Romantic School in general and of melodrama in particular.

STRUGGLE. We pass by very slight gradations to a third element of drama, an element revealed largely in gesture, speech, and situation.

11. Exotic color. Classical: *Caligula*; *Catiline*; *L'Orestie*; British: *Richard Darlington*; *Kean*; *Le Laird de Dumbiky*; *Les Mousquetaires*; *L'Honneur est satisfait*; *L'Envers d'une conspiration*; German: character of Henri Muller, *Angèle*; *Le Comte Hermann*; *Le 24 février*; *La Conscience*; Italian: *Christine*; *Lorenzino*; *Monte-Cristo* (first and second Parts); *Teresa*; Spanish and Oriental: *Don Juan de Marana*; *Le Gentilhomme de la montagne*; *Charles VII chez ses grands vassaux*; *Le Vampire*.

12. Historical color. Medieval: *Charles VII chez ses grands vassaux*; *La Tour de Nesle*; *La Tour Saint-Jacques*; Renaissance: *Henri III et sa cour*; *La Reine Margot*; *La Dame de Monsoreau*; Louis XIII: *La Jeunesse des Mousquetaires*; *Les Mousquetaires*; *Urbain Grandier*; Louis XIV: *La Guerre des femmes*; *Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr*; *La Jeunesse de Louis XIV*; Regency: *Une Fille du régent*; *Le Chevalier d'Harmental*; Louis XV: *Paul Jones*; *Mlle de Belle-Isle*; *Un Mariage sous Louis XV*; *Louise Bernard*; *Le Verrou de la reine*; Revolution and Empire: *Napoléon Bonaparte*; *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge*; *La Barrière de Clichy*; *Les Blancs et les Bleus*.

13. Modern: *Antony*, I, 2; III, 7; *Teresa*; *Angèle*, I, 8; III, 8; V, 4; *Le Comte de Morcerf*, I, 4; *Le Marbrier*, II, 15; *Les Mohicans de Paris*; *Gabriel Lambert*; *Madame de Chamblay*.

Each of these has also a higher and lower degree of poignancy. Gesture, for example, presents on the lower level of this scale many muscular and, at the same time, spectacular effects, which are half struggle, half show. Let us list some of the most effective of these moments: an impetuous lover stills his ardor by tearing at his breast; an imprisoned Spaniard bites the iron bars of his cell; the actor Kean relieves his rage by breaking a chair; Milady de Winter grinds her teeth and "twists her body" in wrath; a German hero beats his brow moist with the sweat of mental anguish; a medieval nobleman assuages his grief by throwing himself to the floor and rolling about.<sup>14</sup>

But there is also a higher type of gesture. It is exemplified at its best when the Duchess of Guise puts her arm, already bruised by her husband's iron glove (she shows the marks), through the rings of a door bolt. Similarly: Antony tears off his bandages that he may have the "happiness" of bleeding to death in his mistress's home; a Bedouin seizes his treacherous lady-love by the hair; a murderous husband hurls his wife roughly to the floor; a lover marks wicked Queen Marguerite's face with a pin from her head-dress; an infernal spirit pricks with an iron pen the arm of a guilty nun; Milady is branded on the shoulder; and a villainous stepmother is mauled and killed by a vicious dog. In all these instances of violent gesture, a sadistic quality is uppermost; and, what is more, the cruelty is usually directed against women. It is true that mistreatment of women, common in the earlier plays, declines with the years, until Dumas allows only his most despicable characters (Milady and Orsola) to be so used.<sup>15</sup> Even so, feminine suffering, revealed in gesture, remains one of the most memorable violent effects of Dumas' plays.

Like gesture, dialogue has a higher and lower grade of violence. Of the latter type, Dumas' act-endings have been much admired. The curtain falls as the Duke of Guise orders: "Qu'on me cherche les mêmes hommes qui ont assassiné Dugast!" Christina of Sweden is similarly brutal and brief: "Qu'on l'achève!" Henry VIII warns Catherine Howard: "Préparez-vous à répondre aux juges qui ont condamné Anne Boleyn!" These curtain-lines would be incomplete without mention of

14. Colorful gestures: *Henri III et sa cour*, v, 2; *Kean*, iv, 8; *La Jeunesse des mousquetaires*, ix, 3; *La Conscience*, ii, 7, 10; *La Tour de Nesle*, iii, 3; also *Don Juan de Marana*, *Le Comte Hermann*, *L'Envers d'une conspiration*, *Les Forestiers*, *Intrigue et Amour*.

15. Sadistic gestures: *Henri III et sa cour*, iii, 5; v, 2; *Antony*, i, 6; *Charles VII chez ses grands vassaux*, v, 5; *Richard Darlington*, iv, 3; *La Tour de Nesle*, ii, 4, 5; *Don Juan de Marana*, viii, 2; *Intrigue et Amour*, vi, 3; *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge*, viii, 7; *La Jeunesse des mousquetaires*, Pr. 8; *Les Mohicans de Paris*, i, 19, 26.



Monte-Cristo's famous cry: "The world is mine!"—a cry more familiar in English than in the original French ("A moi le monde!"), as it was heard literally around the world in the performances of countless melodrama troupes. However, it is with Dumas an old formula, first used in *L'Alchimiste* (1839): "Ce trésor est à moi!"<sup>16</sup>

For all their effectiveness, these act-endings are merely happy *trouvailles* of the melodramatist's art—of which the ordinary style is shown at its worst in this ungrammatical sample from *Les Mohicans de Paris* (1860): "Je veille sur toi, et, fusses-tu dans les griffes de Satan, par le Dieu vivant, je t'en tirerai!" On a higher level are bits of pseudo-historical dialogue: the dreadful cry of Charles IX during the Massacre, "Il faut que je tue quelqu'un!" or Cromwell's characterization of a particularly violent Puritan, "Mordaunt, vous êtes un terrible serviteur!" Related to such speeches are various neat, D'Artagnanesque phrases ("Madame, où mettez-vous le poison dont vous vous servez d'habitude?—Cette femme a dû passer par ici, car voilà un cadavre").<sup>17</sup> Despite their "smartness," these speeches do not represent our author's highest effects in the realm of dialogue; rather his best-remembered phrases are those of women: "Vous me faites mal, Henri! Vous me faites horriblement mal!" Or: "Qu'elle est froide cette lettre! qu'elle est cruellement froide!"<sup>18</sup> Here again we catch the sadistic note, and the note of feminine suffering. The suffering of women indicates struggle of a more poignant type, and represents, as we shall see later, one of Dumas' most original contributions to the violence of gesture and dialogue.

As with dialogue, so with situation—there is a higher and lower degree of violence. Dumas' subjects are typical of Romanticism: scenes of terror, hypnotism, convulsive love, gambling, duels, brutal cynicism. There is the prolonged and violent death of Tomson in *Richard Dar-*

16. Act-endings: *Henry III et sa cour*, I, v; *Christine*, v; *Catherine Howard*, vi; *Les Mohicans de Paris*, viii; *L'Alchimiste*, II; *Monte-Cristo* (2<sup>e</sup> Partie), I; also *Angèle*, iv; *Antony*, I.—Compare as a combination of act-ending and gesture the last two instances, particularly where Angèle throws herself headforemost to the floor—something of a feat for a woman just out of childbirth.

17. Pseudo-historical dialogue: *La Reine Margot*, III, 3; *Les Mousquetaires*, v, 8; also II, 6; x, 2. "Smart" dialogue: *Villefort*, ix, 5; *La Jeunesse des mousquetaires*, xii, 7; cf. a particularly effective scene in action, *Le Chevalier d'Harmental*, ix, 4.

18. *Henry III et sa cour*, III, 5; *Antony*, II, I.—Note how the rhythm of the sentences reinforces the anguish. A study of the use of repetition for stage-effect would not be wasted: for example, it is little used in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, but grows in frequency throughout the eighteenth century: cf. *Turcaret*, *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*. The relations of eighteenth-century comedy with melodrama should be noted.—Note also the rhythm of D'Artagnanesque speech: "C'était une croix et pas autre chose; c'était au bras gauche et pas autre part" (*La Tour de Nesle*, viii, 4).

lington, a scene in which he clings to a moving carriage-wheel; but this depends partly upon stage-setting for its effect. Violence of a higher degree is probably best represented by *Le 24 février*, a one-act play, which, though it was performed at a theater called *Gaieté*, dealt with a gruesome infanticide, fratricide, and a hint of patricide; but this play was adapted from the German.<sup>19</sup> Thus, Dumas' stage-crimes cannot be called more abhorrent than those of his colleagues: unnatural murder, rape, incest and threat of incest, intense physical torture, furtive births and criminal infanticide are no different in his plays than in those of other Romantics.<sup>20</sup> These gruesome incidents are quite pronounced as late as 1850 (*Urbain Grandier*), although they gradually become rarer with the years.

Dumas' originality lies rather in another direction: his drama excels not so much in crime as in punishment, which is personified in the character of the *bourreau* or headsman, surely the most pervasive and long-lived of all his violent devices. This figure first stalks darkly into *Richard Darlington*, appears in fifteen plays, and makes a farewell appearance only in the last of the Dumas dramas, *Les Blancs et les bleus* (1870). Certainly it would be hard to find a more recurrent character;<sup>21</sup> yet it is precisely in the excessive use of the hangman that Dumas' violent situations reach their climax, over-reach it, and tend—as a natural result—to the absurd. The *bourreau* is make-believe, "play" again: the cycle is complete.

Thus, we may sum up finally our tripartite catalogue. In its Play elements, Dumas' action is rich, befitting his own rich physical nature. In its Show elements, his work presents little variety from the devices of Romanticism, though his local color is often quite athletic. Finally, in its Struggle elements, his action becomes at moments distinctly original.

19. Violent situations: (fear) *Christine*, v, 1; (love) *Catherine Howard*, II, 3; IV, 3; (gambling) *Mlle de Belle-Isle*; (duels) *Angèle*, *Halifax*, *L'Envers d'une conspiration*, *La Dame de Monsoreau*; (hypnotism) *Urbain Grandier*; (death) *Richard Darlington*, VII, 2; (patricide) *Le 24 février*, esp. Scs. 3, 7.

20. Abhorrent crimes: *Antony*, II, 7; *Teresa*, III, 12; *La Tour de Nesle*; *Angèle*, III; *Caligula*, II, 5; *Paul Jones*, v, 6; *Halifax*, III, 9, 10; *La Reine Margot*, x, XIII; *Catilina*, I, 7, 9; IV, 5; *Urbain Grandier*, II, 1; XI, 4; *Le Marbrier*, II, 15; III, 6; *L'Orestie*, I, 12; II, 11; *Le Gentilhomme de la montagne*, v, 6. Clandestine: *Richard Darlington*, Pr. 7; *La Tour de Nesle*, IV; *Angèle*, III, 8; *Paul Jones*, II, 3; *Monte-Cristo* (1<sup>re</sup> Partie), IX; *Catilina*, II, 1.

21. Headsman and hangman: *Richard Darlington*, *Catherine Howard*, *L'Alchimiste*, *Lorenzino*, *La Reine Margot*, *Villefort*, *La Jeunesse des mousquetaires*, *Les Mousquetaires*, *Catilina*, *Le Chevalier d'Harmant*, *La Guerre des femmes*, *Le Comte Hermann*, *Urbain Grandier*, *L'Envers d'une conspiration*, *Le Gentilhomme de la montagne*, *Les Blancs et les bleus*.—The device is all the more pathetic in its last manifestation because it is not at all germane to the plot: the headsman is obviously present only to please the author.—Cf. the *bourreau* character in Balzac's *Épisode sous la Terreur* and in Joseph de Maistre's *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*.



The debts of these plays are many and obvious. There is something at once earnest, pathetic, and engaging in the humility of Dumas toward his School and toward his betters. He invariably acknowledges his borrowings in the most flattering manner possible—by clever imitation. Thus we easily catch overtones of all his principal sources.

For example: Antony is asked how many times he has loved: "Demandez à un cadavre combien de fois il a vécu." Yaqoub the Saracen says to his new master: "Vous payez cher un cadavre." A headman to his son: "Malheureux, tu ne sais pas que je suis né pour punir." Richard Darlington to his wife (with unintentional pun): "Jenny, vous êtes mon mauvais génie."<sup>22</sup> We are tempted to write after all such expressions: "Schiller." Without meaning thereby to cite chapter and verse as literal sources for these lines, one can at the same time feel in them to what extent the spirit of Schiller—that is, the youthful Schiller—had permeated the writers of Dumas' generation and been absorbed by them. Likewise we can be reasonably sure that cruel sons and brutal German doctors in Dumas' plays come also from Schiller (*Die Räuber* especially). Similarly, one catches a Byronic note (or, at any rate, the continental translation of Byron) in such a phrase as the following: "Vous avez une intention que je ne puis comprendre; vous marchez vers un but que je ne connais pas."<sup>23</sup> Also Byronic are various sadistic young men (Antony, Alfred d'Alvimar, the Duc de Richelieu), heroes of early Dumas plays. When Bertuccio exclaims: "Je ne suis pas fou: je suis Corse!" one is reminded of Victor Hugo.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, when we encounter laboratory scenes, medicine or pseudo-science, and the Mephistophelian character,<sup>25</sup> we may be sure that Goethe is the ultimate inspiration. Scenes of English democracy, Scottish honor, the tortured wife (Jenny Darlington) usually suggest Scott (particularly *Kenilworth* and *The Surgeon's Daughter*). Spanish scenes draw heavily from a variety of sources—Hugo (Castillian honor, angel-and-demon antithesis, Charles V's election), the Spanish drama and in particular the Duke of Rivas (monastery scenes and blood-feuds between hidal-

22. Schillerian tone: *Antony*, II, 4; *Charles VII chez ses grands vassaux*, II, 5; *Richard Darlington*, V, 7; cf. *Intrigue et Amour*, IV, 3.—Dumas' debts to Schiller are very thoroughly treated by Edmond Egli, *Schiller et le romantisme français*, Paris, Gamber, 1927, II, 300-380, *passim*.

23. Byronic tone: *Monte-Cristo* (1<sup>re</sup> Partie), IV, 3.

24. Hugoesque tone: *Monte-Cristo* (1<sup>re</sup> Partie), VIII, 9.

25. Buridan, of *La Tour de Nesle*, should be noted as a character who starts out as D'Artagnan, and changes, in mid-career, to Mephistopheles. Here the character changes his function; but Schiller's play, *Don Karlos*, actually changes its hero after the third act. The Romantics easily swept aside questions of consistency which would have bothered the Neo-Classics.

gos), even old Corneille (the mortal insult of a blow). The figures of the huntsman and the human bloodhound come from Fenimore Cooper. Kotzebue provides his figure of the "Stranger." Even the Wandering Jew is present.<sup>26</sup> There is, finally, a very extensive debt to the *Arabian Nights*, reminiscent of Dumas' youthful reading: Monte-Cristo's treasure-trove was surely inspired by Ali Baba's Sesame, and in a late and unimportant little play we find a horse named Bab-Ali.<sup>27</sup>

Thus we see, however briefly and incompletely, Dumas' debt not only to Romantic literature in general, but to a variety of sources. Still, making every allowance for conventionalities and for collaborators,<sup>28</sup> there is a residue which cannot be explained away: the Janus-faced portrait of the author (D'Artagnan and Porthos); a trick of speech which may be called D'Artagnanesque; a fondness for scenic effects of height—precipices and so forth; a tendency to make local color emphasize the athletic genius of a people or an age (though here he is in debt to Scott); neat curtain-lines; the abiding figure of the *bourreau*; and the suffering of women portrayed in gesture and speech. These elements—though they vary in their originality—are frequent enough, and fundamental enough, to be considered *Dumas' own*.

It is perhaps fitting at this point and in the light of these themes to review Dumas' dramatic career chronologically. Below are listed certain of the most characteristic moments of that career, the titles being plays to which reference has already been made in most cases, and the names in parenthesis being the heroes or villains in each case.

26. The various influences are treated clearly but not exhaustively by Parigot, *op. cit.* Reed, *op. cit.*, contains valuable information of Dumas' youthful adaptations: Schiller's *Fiesco* and Scott's *Ivanhoe* (now lost). *Kabale und Liebe* was also adapted; but Schiller is also present in *Le Comte Hermann*, *Christine*, *Le 24 février* (adapted from Werner), *La Conscience*. Goethe in *Henri III*, *La Tour de Nesle*, *Catherine Howard*, *Don Juan de Marana*, *Le Comte Hermann*. Byronic hero in *Napoléon Bonaparte* (the Spy), *Antony*, *Charles VII*, *Teresa*, *Angèle*, *Kean*, *Mlle de Belle-Isle* (the Duc de Richelieu), *Paul Jones* (final appearance, and here with democratic overtones, "the rights of man"). Scott's influence dominant in *Richard Darlington*, *Le Laird de Dumbiky*, *L'Envers d'une conspiration*. Shakespeare adapted in *Hamlet* (considerably toned down!), and there was a youthful translation of *Romeo and Juliet*, from which he was able to use bits in *Kean* and *Les Mohicans de Paris* (balcony scene and Queen Mab speech). Hugo especially in *Lorenzino* and *Le Gentilhomme de la montagne*. Corneille in the latter play. Rivas and the Spanish tradition in *Don Juan de Marana* and *Le Gentilhomme de la montagne* (Dumas' least original play). Cooper in *Le Comte Hermann*; *Les Forestiers*, v, II; *Les Mohicans de Paris*, v, 7; judgment of him in *Le Marbrier*, II, 6. Kotzebue in *Louise Bernard*. Wandering Jew theme in the latter play and *Morcerf*.

27. *Arabian Nights*: *La Noce et l'Enterrement* (burial alive, as of Sinbad the Sailor); *Villefort*, I, 3; *Les Mousquetaires*, XI, 2; *La Chasse au chaste*, I, 2; *La Tour Saint-Jacques*, IV, 10; *Le Roman d'Elvire*, III, 3; *Le Gentilhomme de la montagne*, II, 10; III, 3.

28. There are divided opinions on the subject of Dumas' collaborations: G. Simon, *Histoire d'une collaboration*, Paris, Crès, 1919, tends to exaggerate them; Reed, *op. cit.*, takes the opposite stand, with more evidence.

- 1829: *Henri III et sa cour* (Duc de Guise)
- 1830: *Christine* (Monaldeschi)
- 1831: *Napoléon Bonaparte* (character of the Spy)
- 1831: *Antony*
- 1831: *Richard Darlington* (Tomson)
- 1832: *La Tour de Nesle* (Buridan)
- 1833: *Angèle* (Alfred d'Alvimar)
- 1839: *Mlle de Belle-Isle* (Duc de Richelieu)
- 1839: *L'Alchimiste* (Fasio)
- 1847: *La Reine Margot* (La Môle, Coconnas)
- 1847: *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge*
- 1848: *Monte-Cristo*, Parts I and II
- 1849: *Le Comte Hermann* (Fritz Sturler)
- 1850: *Urbain Grandier*
- 1856: *La Tour Saint-Jacques* (Raoul de la Tremblaye)
- 1858: *Les Forestiers* (Bernard Guillaume)
- 1860: *La Dame de Monsoreau* (Chicot, Bussy d'Amboise)
- 1864: *Les Mohicans de Paris* (Salvator)

As can be seen, Dumas' dramatic career covered five decades. The first (1820's) saw his school-boy efforts, his acquisition of dramatic technique and verse form in an adaptation of Schiller's *Fiesco*, and his début in *Henri III*. The second decade (1830's—seventeen plays of the collected work) introduced most of his favorite themes: Shakespearian murder scenes, a long line of Byronic heroes and Mephistophelian villains, the type of D'Artagnan, the consumptive hero, the Walter Scott types of intrigue, and the theme of buried treasure. The third decade (1840's—twenty plays) marked a relapse from the earlier Romantic frenzy into the production of well-made plays for the Théâtre-Français;<sup>29</sup> but in the second half of the period there was a rebirth of the old-time somber violence in the dramatizations which now for the first time made their appearance.<sup>30</sup> The fourth decade (1850's—eighteen plays) began with one of the least original works,<sup>31</sup> but in *La Tour Saint-Jacques* marked the climax of Dumas' great medieval reconstructions and dramatizations for his Théâtre Historique, and with *Les Forestiers* sounded momentarily a new and refreshingly realistic note. During the last decade (1860's), Dumas' dra-

29. *Un Mariage sous Louis XV, Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr, Halifax, Louise Bernard, Mlle de Belle-Isle*.—The relationship of the *pièce bien faite* with the melodrama, and their antecedents, need further elucidation, though there is much of value in Parigot, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 ff. and ch. xi.

30. *Le Comte Hermann* marks the summit of Goethian and Schillerian influence, and introduces the Cooper woodsman-character.

31. *Urbain Grandier* even goes back to Scribe's operatic *Robert le diable* for its demoniacal settings.

matic talent wore itself out; for, with the exception of the two famous dramatizations noted above, the plays were all inferior.<sup>32</sup>

This chronology helps to make clear an essential antithesis: the difference between Dumas the *dramatist* and Dumas the *dramatizer*. The chief dramas, as we have seen, make their most sensational appearance in the thirties; the dramatizations, taken from his popular romances and arranged for the stage by himself or with collaborators, begin in the forties. Some of them, it is true, are mere pot-boilers: *Madame de Chamblay*, *Gabriel Lambert*, *Le Gentilhomme de la montagne*, *Le Chevalier d'Harmental* and *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge* (both almost incomprehensible in their dramatic guise), and *Urbain Grandier*. These are often hampered by too much plot, too many characters, too many settings.<sup>33</sup> However, a few other dramatizations rival the earlier dramas in violence: the Musketeer series, the Monte-Cristo tetralogy (though not all equally), *Les Mohicans de Paris*, and a last masterly effort, *La Dame de Monsoreau*. And these works, complicated and lengthy as they were (one of them ran to nine hours in performance), were almost uniformly successful. We need only recall the figures of Milady, Mordaunt, La Carconte, the Villefort family, Chicot, to understand their success. For these dramatizations provide the last and most characteristic aspect of Dumas' violence, an aspect which serves more than any other to link him to the later nineteenth century. They support and contribute to that atmosphere which we are forced, for want of a better term, to call "Clinical Suspense"—a sentiment which springs, in the case of novel-reader and drama-seer, from an excessive and disgusting cumulation of physical strain and tension.

For illustration: two examples of this type of suffering, certainly two which come readily to mind, are Milady de Winter and M. de Villefort. Here are people beset with all manner of cruel problems, cumulating in rapid succession. They are confronted with prison, banishment, brand-

32. *L'Envers d'une conspiration* resembles the earlier well-made plays with British settings; but *Le Gentilhomme de la montagne* is a hodge-podge; *Gabriel Lambert* is confused; and *Les Blancs et les bleus* is only a military melodrama. *Madame de Chamblay* contains a last faint echo of *l'homme fatal* of 1830; and we find therein a rather pathetic attempt to introduce peasant themes and sociological discussion after the manner of Balzac and the new school of Realism (II, 9; IV, 5).—There is also an attempt in all these later pieces to tone down the old violence: in *Les Mohicans*, Madame Orsola is killed off stage.

33. It would be interesting to note the number of changes of scene necessary to most of Dumas' dramatizations (not counting the spectacular plays); also the number of double, triple, and even quadruple sets he and his collaborators find indispensable to the action: *Le Chevalier d'Harmental* sins notably in this respect.—These, and other problems that confront the dramatizer, are very well discussed in the essays of a contemporary, Sidney Howard: cf. his prefaces to dramatizations of Sinclair Lewis's *Dodsworth*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1933, and Humphrey Cobb's *Paths of Glory*, New York, French, 1935.

ing, burning, disgrace, sudden death, madness—a succession of grim horrors—until at last our hatred of the criminal turns to vague sympathy, then surfeit becomes open disgust, which leads to a kind of impersonal aloofness. The characters themselves have ceased long since to have any personal function, have become mere puppets in the force of cumulative suffering. In other words, the hurricane has become important in itself.

Yet we must not believe that because the character has lost his identity in the process, he has lost every valid literary function. An example is the horrid death of La Carconte in the second Monte-Cristo play. It is not enough that this woman must plan and execute a violent murder and herself endure an even more violent death: she must also be suffering from fever at the time! The very chattering of her teeth adds to the aura of physical suffering which surrounds and finally obscures her.<sup>34</sup>

For the source of this technique we can go back to Dumas' first great play, *Henri III et sa cour*. Here indignity and suffering crowd upon the Duchess of Guise until we cease to think of *her*, and think only of her bruised and broken arm subjected to hurt and agony. It is safe to say that not the Duchess of Guise, but the Duchess of Guise's arm is the heroine of the tragedy.

Mme de Guise, however, pales a trifle when compared with her successors. The three greatest pathological characters in Dumas' plays—Villefort, La Carconte, Milady—made their first appearance in serial stories; and even on the stage they reflect the lengthy serial story in their long-drawn agonies. Here is, indeed, a case where novel has added to the power of drama. These dramatizations even make possible a comparison between Dumas and the Greeks. In plays like these we feel something of the same shameless and dreadful crowding of woe and grief (though seen in their most physical aspects) that we encounter in the myths set on the stage by the great Greek dramatists. There are distinctions, to be sure: where the Classic audience saw behind the suffering, Destiny; where the Neo-Classicists saw Character; Dumas saw only Suffering itself.<sup>35</sup> Now, though this element of "clinical" suffering existed more or less from the first in Dumas' plays, one must also remember that it occurred after 1840 most strikingly in the dramatiza-

34. Dumas' debts cannot hide his originality: obviously La Carconte is suggested by Lady Macbeth; but it is in the heaping up of physical suffering that Dumas is original.

35. The comparison is complicated by the whole Greek concept of Fate and Destiny, is further confused by the fact that long acquaintance with the legends robs them of much of their brutality, and is finally obscured by the awe with which we tend to approach the Classics.

tions. Therefore we may say that Dumas' most original effect of violence owes part of its originality to fictional technique; and furthermore that the dramatizations of Dumas scarcely deserve the neglect to which scholars have often consigned them.

The final antithesis which will best serve to evaluate Dumas' technique, and will likewise help to set him in his period, is a distinction between GESTURE and POSTURE. This difference can be stated in the following terms: gesture aims always at some significance, some symbolism; whereas posture aims merely toward an arrangement effectively picturesque to the *spectator*. Gesture is un-self-conscious, active, and individual; posture is aloof, and consciously conceives of itself in relation to a whole composition. A historical example: Cromwell's smearing with ink the faces of his fellow regicides is good gesture; the attitudinizing of the Girondins at the foot of the guillotine is mere posture.<sup>36</sup> Though posture is indispensable to the drama of Dumas—he would scarcely be a Romantic or an heir to the spirit of 1789 without it—still he manages, contrary to Hugo, to subordinate posture to gesture; and this he accomplishes chiefly through his "clinical" technique, which itself owes much to his dramatizations.

In other words, we are prepared to say that Romanticism, in all its forms and personalities, existed on several different levels, the self-conscious and the conscious, the unconscious and the subconscious. It was at its worst (or is least agreeably tolerated today) in its self-conscious and conscious manifestations; it is most significant, powerful, and inexorable in its unconscious and subconscious manifestations; and it was here that Alexandre Dumas *père* played his most effective part. For it was this latter aspect of Romanticism which contributed most to the following period. Dumas, and others of his kind, help to complete the unity of the nineteenth century by forming a connecting link with the Symbolists and *fin-de-siècle* decadents.<sup>37</sup> As dramatist and dramatizer, he represents not only the cross-fertilization of the arts in the Romantic period but also the break-down of the hierarchy of letters during the whole century. Debtors of Dumas' school of literature were

36. Similarly, the ending of Hugo's *Quatre-Vingt-Treize* is posture; whereas his *Travailleurs de la mer* ends in a magnificent gesture.—Note also Egon Friedell's curious comparison of the French Revolutionary heroes to Schillerian characters, *A Cultural History of the Modern Age*, New York, Knopf, 1931-1932, II, 396-397.

37. There is no need to discuss here his gift to later melodrama and historical drama. Sardou doubtless learned much from Dumas: for instance, the trick, apparently originated in the expatriate Scotch heroes of Scott, of injecting a Frenchman as commentator into his historical scenes (in *Patrie*, for example, or against the Byzantine background of *Théodora*). This trick Dumas had introduced in the Gaul Acquila, of *Caligula*, with the additional virtue of relating him to the plot.

such aristocrats or esoterics as Barbey d'Aurevilly, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Rimbaud. Even the greatest of the *raffinés*, Proust, had a taste for the vulgar—proved by such terms as his *meilhachalévisme*, or such phrases as “aimant *opéracomiquement* les femmes.” Havelock Ellis goes so far as to say, in a penetrating passage, that Proust—like most of us—burlesques and scorns what he most loved.<sup>38</sup> This does not mean that a later generation of Frenchmen turned consciously to Dumas, though in the democratic, paradoxical nineteenth century extremes rubbed elbows; but the young men of 1870 and 1890 were open to the unconscious influences of Romanticism, even when they most scorned its topmost flights—which were, as a consequence, its most transitory. The type of violence purveyed by Dumas became an element, even a stock-in-trade, in the work of Baudelaire, Verlaine, Wilde. As Mario Praz has indicated,<sup>39</sup> there are some elements which even the humblest men of letters share with the greatest; and in the presentment of physical suffering and anguish the serial writers and melodramatists of the mid-nineteenth century paved the way for the Bohemian, anti-popular authors of the Decadence.

Though Dumas may be denied the title of first-rank artist, he is certainly a first-rate artisan—*kraftgenialisch*, as the Germans call their muscular authors; and, as a preparation for the spirit of the late nineteenth century, his Clinical Technique is certainly a force to be reckoned with.

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38. Havelock Ellis, *From Rousseau to Proust*, Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1935, p. 374.

39. Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, London, Oxford, 1933, pp. 197 ff., 378 ff., finds for example in Eugène Sue's *Mystères de Paris* similar elements to those employed by Verlaine and Pierre Louÿs.—We might add that Dumas' *Caligula*, in its presentation of the abstract brutality of the Ancient World, is also a preparation for Louÿs' *Aphrodite*.



## SUR UNE BIOGRAPHIE DE BYRON AYANT APPARTENU À STENDHAL

L'ACQUISITION récente d'un exemplaire du *Lord Byron* de Louise Swanton Belloc,<sup>1</sup> ayant appartenu à Stendhal, nous permet de rectifier une erreur dans le "Catalogue des livres dépendant de la succession de M. Beyle, Consul de France à Civita-Vecchia et déposés à l'ambassade" qu'a publié M. Ferdinand Boyer.<sup>2</sup> Les deux volumes, reliés en demi-veau marron et ornés de dorures et de fers à froid, portent au bas du dos les initiales "H. B." que Stendhal avait coutume de faire ajouter aux livres reliés sur ses ordres. Si les initiales ne suffisaient pas pour attester l'origine de l'ouvrage, des notes tracées au crayon dans la calligraphie de Stendhal ne laisseraient plus de doute.

Selon l'inventaire des livres laissés à Rome par Stendhal, il y avait, dans la bibliothèque qu'il possédait au moment de sa mort, quatre volumes de Byron: "Byron, 1 volume; Byron, *Mémoires*, I, II, 2 volumes; Byron, *Don Juan*, 1 volume."<sup>3</sup> Si M. Boyer a réussi à identifier l'édition de *Don Juan* comme celle publiée à Paris en 1830 chez Dondey, Dupré,<sup>4</sup> il n'apporte pas de renseignements sur les trois autres volumes. Nous ne pouvons que spéculer sur ce qu'était le Byron en un volume; mais qu'il faille identifier comme la biographie du poète anglais par Mme Belloc les deux volumes hâtivement inventoriés sous la rubrique "mémoires," nous paraît presque incontestable.

On sait que Stendhal avait fait la connaissance de Mme Belloc vers 1823, quand il fréquentait, avec Mérimée, Ampère, Fauriel, les deux Thierry et Victor Cousin, la société d'anglicisants—pour ne pas dire d'anglophiles—qui se réunissaient dans le salon de la spirituelle Mary Clarke.<sup>5</sup> L'enthousiasme, voire le culte, pour Byron et Napoléon que partageaient Mme Belloc et Stendhal aurait beaucoup aidé à les rapprocher. Il y a lieu même de croire que Stendhal faisait sa cour à la jeune et jolie Madame Belloc, mais un passage aussi curieux que malicieux dans ses *Souvenirs d'égotisme*<sup>6</sup> atteste assez nettement son insuccès. Mme Belloc commençait alors à se faire connaître par ses tra-

1. Paris, chez Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1824. 2 vol. in-8.

2. "La Bibliothèque de Stendhal à Rome (1842)," *RLC*, III (1923), 450-462.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 461.

4. "Bibliothèques stendhaliennes à Civita-Vecchia et à Rome," *RLC*, V (1925), 313-333.

5. Marion E. Smith, *Une Anglaise intellectuelle en France sous la Restauration: Miss Mary Clark*, Paris, 1927, pp. 25-34.

6. Paris, 1892. pp. 53-54.



ductions et par ses articles dans la *Revue Encyclopédique* sur l'Angleterre et les littératures de langue anglaise. Elle avait traduit divers ouvrages de Byron, auquel elle était censée ressembler et à qui elle vouait un culte enthousiaste. Au moment de la mort du poète elle était en train de rassembler les matériaux pour un article biographique destiné à la *Revue Encyclopédique*. Grâce à ses connaissances de la langue anglaise et à ses relations littéraires en Angleterre, en Italie et en France, elle avait réussi à recueillir un peu partout des inédits de Byron et de nombreux détails nouveaux, du moins en France, sur sa vie. Elle se hâta donc de développer son article en un ouvrage plus sérieux, en y ajoutant des morceaux inédits et des traductions avec le texte anglais en regard. Le premier volume parut vers la fin d'octobre 1824, et le second au mois de mars de l'année suivante.

Dans les notes du premier volume, Mme Belloc reproduit une longue lettre de Stendhal,<sup>7</sup> où il raconte en détail, évidemment en réponse à une demande récente, ses impressions de Byron, qu'il avait connu à Milan en 1816. Il est donc tout naturel de supposer que Mme Belloc a envoyé à Stendhal, pour lui témoigner sa reconnaissance, un exemplaire de son livre. C'est d'autant plus probable, que Mme Belloc a dû vouloir attirer l'attention de Stendhal et sur la note où elle approuvait le parallèle entre Napoléon et Byron dont il est question dans la lettre,<sup>8</sup> et sur le passage qui l'accompagne, où elle explique pourquoi elle se permet quand même "de ne pas adopter toutes les conclusions de l'auteur."

Les notes inscrites par Stendhal dans son exemplaire de *Lord Byron* présentent tous les caractères graphologiques de son écriture. Il n'y en a que deux et elles se lisent aux pages 204 et 255 du premier volume. La remarque suivante paraît en marge d'un passage tiré du premier chant de *Childe Harold*:

## BYRON

Ancient of days! august Athena! where,  
Where are thy men of might? thy grand  
in soul?

## BELLOC

Reine des jours antiques! auguste  
Athènes, s'écrit-il, où sont tes hommes  
puissans, tes grandes âmes (\*)?

[Et en note:] (\*) L'expression anglaise,  
bien plus belle et bien plus forte, signifie  
littéralement "tes hommes de puissance,  
tes grands par l'âme."

## STENDHAL

J'aimerais mieux: Où est la puissance? où est la grandeur d'âme de tes enfants?

7. *Op. cit.*, pp. 353-357. Cette lettre est réimprimée dans la *Correspondance de Stendhal* (1800-1842), publiée par Ad. Paupe et P.-A. Cheramy, Paris, 1908, II, 341-345.

8. *Op. cit.*, I, 320, n. 1.

La correction suivante se trouve en marge de la traduction de la stance CXXXVII de *Childe Harold*:

## BYRON

Something unearthly, which they deem  
not of,  
Like the remembered tone of a mute  
lyre,  
Shall on their softened spirits sink, and  
move  
In hearts all rocky now the late remorse  
of love.

## BELLOC

Quelque chose de surnaturel dont ils ne  
se doutent pas, et qui, semblable au  
souvenir des sons d'une lyre devenue  
silencieuse, pénétrera dans leurs âmes  
amollies, et réveillera dans leurs cœurs,  
maintenant d'airain, les derniers remords  
de l'amour.

## STENDHAL

[Les mots "de pierre" et "tardifs" sont substitués pour "d'airain" et "derniers," biffés au crayon.]

De la correspondance échangée entre Mme Belloc et Stendhal, il ne nous est parvenu que la lettre de Stendhal sur Byron que nous venons de citer. Le reste a dû disparaître lors de l'occupation par les Prussiens, en 1870, de la villa de Saint-Cloud où Mme Belloc gardait l'immense collection de papiers de toute espèce—brouillons de lettres, manuscrits de ses articles, correspondance suivie avec de nombreuses sommités littéraires tant à l'étranger qu'en France—qu'elle avait amassée pendant cinquante ans.<sup>9</sup> Parmi les rares épaves recueillies par la famille Belloc à son retour après la guerre, se trouve un très intéressant fragment de lettre que Mme Belloc-Lowndes, petite-fille de Louise Swanton Belloc, a bien voulu nous permettre de consulter. D'après les traditions de la famille, ce serait un fragment d'une lettre de Stendhal à David d'Angers. La chose nous paraît exacte, à condition toutefois de considérer ce document non comme un original, mais comme une copie, faite pour Mme Belloc par le destinataire, David d'Angers, de la fin d'une lettre à lui adressée par Stendhal:

Enfin faites moi la grâce de saluer de ma part Madame Belloc, & dites lui que je lui fais mes compliments sincères de sa belle âme;—que son livre révèle de profondes connaissances & un sentiment exquis & qu'il lui fera honneur même lorsqu'elle sera revenue de son enthousiasme *pour l'homme*.

Elle confond l'homme & l'écrivain, illusion ordinaire des âmes sensibles. Je connais à Pise, à Venise & à Ravenne, un grand nombre de personnes qui ont eu des relations avec l'homme, & d'après leurs renseignements, il est évident, comme l'a écrit M<sup>r</sup> Albrizzi qu'il n'a eu aucune éducation morale.

9. Pour un récit des dégâts soufferts pendant l'occupation de la villa par les Prussiens, voir le chapitre intitulé: "A Chapter of War," dans Bessie Rayner Belloc, *In a Walled Garden*, London, 1895, pp. 179-208.

Si je n'avais point des travaux plus importants, je pourrais donner un essai sur lui qui contiendrait beaucoup d'anecdotes curieuses.

(Suivent des détails sur l'aventure de Pise)

Tout ce qu'a écrit Medwin est vrai; j'ai tout entendu dans la maison de M<sup>r</sup> Beauclerc chez lequel venait Medwin.

Lorsque vous ferez graver le portrait de Madame Belloc, envoyez le moi; j'ai grand désir de le recevoir.

[Paraphe]

En dépit de sa brièveté la lettre n'est pas sans intérêt, mais elle appelle quelques justifications et quelques commentaires. Sans contredit, "l'homme" dont il est question, c'est Byron. La lecture attentive du *Lord Byron* de Mme Belloc démontre, aujourd'hui du moins, à quel point Stendhal avait raison quand il exprimait ses réserves sur le livre. La méthode de Mme Belloc, comme elle l'a dit elle-même,<sup>10</sup> consistait à "chercher lord Byron dans ses œuvres avant tout," et la magie des vers du poète semble lui avoir fermé les yeux sur les tares morales de l'homme. Les références à Pise, à Venise et à Ravenne, par où Byron avait passé, et aux ouvrages d'Albrizzi<sup>11</sup> et de Medwin<sup>12</sup> ne laissent guère de doute sur l'identité du personnage dont il s'agit.

La mention de l'essai sur Byron que Stendhal "pourrait écrire s'il n'avait point de travaux plus importants," et l'allusion au portrait de Mme Belloc que le destinataire de la lettre devait faire graver, fournissent des indications d'après lesquelles on peut hasarder une conjecture sur l'époque où la lettre a été écrite. Nous sommes tenté d'identifier l'essai projeté, et peut-être même plus avancé que Stendhal ne voulait l'admettre, avec celui que contient la lettre qu'il adressa à Romain Colomb à la date du 24 août 1829.<sup>13</sup> Ce soir-là, écrit Stendhal, on l'avait beaucoup fait causer sur Byron. Il ne pouvait ni dormir ni s'adonner à "des travaux plus importants"; il allait donc amorcer l'essai sur Byron, dont il aurait caressé l'idée depuis sa lettre à David d'Angers. Si l'on accepte cette hypothèse, la lettre que nous avons reproduite remonterait à la même époque, mais serait antérieure à la lettre à Colomb.

Quant au portrait de Mme Belloc, on sait que David a modelé son

10. Dans une lettre inédite à Jullien, rédacteur en chef de la *Revue Encyclopédique*, datée de Paris, le 9 janvier 1826. Bibliothèque de la Rochelle, MS 609.

11. Le copiste a dû se tromper en transcrivant "M" au lieu de "Mme". Il s'agit ici de la comtesse d'Albrizzi, que Byron avait connue à Venise entre 1816 et 1819 et qu'il a appelée "la Mme de Staël italienne." Elle a publié ses impressions sur Byron dans ses *Ritratti* (4<sup>e</sup> ed.; Pisa, 1826). Voir Ethel C. Mayne, *Byron*, New York, 1913, pp. 100-101.

12. Thomas Medwin, *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron: Noted during a Residence with His Lordship at Pisa, in the Years 1821 and 1822*, London, 1824.

13. *Correspondance de Stendhal*, II, 499-504.

profil en 1830.<sup>14</sup> Au mois de juillet 1829, il mettait la dernière main à son médaillon de Henri Beyle.<sup>15</sup> On se demande si ce ne fut pas au cours des séances de Stendhal chez David que, la conversation tournant sur Byron, la biographie par Mme Belloc et la part que Stendhal y avait prise, l'artiste annonça au romancier son intention de faire une médaille de la belle traductrice et biographe du poète anglais. Cela étant, le fragment de lettre reproduit plus haut doit dater de 1829, probablement du mois de juillet.

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14. Ce médaillon se trouve au musée Carnavalet. Je tiens à exprimer ici ma reconnaissance à Mme Belloc-Lowndes, qui a eu la bonté de me donner l'un des deux autres exemplaires qui lui ont été transmis par sa mère, Mme Bessie Rayner Belloc.

15. "Si vous mettez un nom à la médaille, mettez en petits caractères *Henri Beyle*," écrit Stendhal au sculpteur (*Correspondance*, II, 499).

## REVIEWS

*La Canzone d'Orlando*. Vol. I—*Introduzione, traduzione in versi italiani, note critiche, appendice e indice dei nomi*. Di ELDA BOSSI. Firenze, Ofiria, 1938. Pp. xv+254.

*Roland-Orlando dans l'épopée française et italienne*. Par F. TH. A. VOIGT. Leiden. E. J. Brill, 1938. Pp. 161.

*Le Origini delle canzoni di gesta: teorie e discussioni*. Di ITALO SICILIANO. Padova, Milani, 1940. Pp. 219.

The French epic output of the Middle Ages continues to command international interest and comment, as witnessed by these three works written from different points of view and with different aims.

Elda Bossi's volume, with a preface by Guido Mazzoni, offers a new Italian translation of the Oxford version, which the author, in agreement with Bédier and Bertoni, considers the nearest to the lost original. Miss Bossi, however, has certain theories of her own (shared in part with Suchier, Jenkins, Fawtier, Hoepffner and Bertoni) which she does not hesitate to advance, though she postpones a discussion of the evidence to her forthcoming second volume. Only the first 2400 lines of the Oxford version, according to her, are original; the balance is a later interpolation. The first part is marked by "deliberate simplicity, concision . . . masterful rhythm, intensity and unity of action, deep dramatic feeling, heroic and human sense, a keen psychological intuition which is almost modern, and which criticism has largely overlooked;" the latter part is "prolix; it disperses the dramatic effect, turns the characters into gigantic puppets, presents a fabulous rather than a heroic-human sense, and lacks measure and taste." An example of this contrast is supplied by the episode of Roland's swoon when he sees Oliver wounded to death, as against the case of Charlemagne, who faints several times, and 20,000 Franks with him, on arriving on the field of battle. The connecting links between the original and the continuation are said to be the verses describing Charlemagne's wailing over the body of Roland.

The theory is interesting and, in part, plausible. Few readers have failed to be struck by the *diminuendo* effect of the latter part of the poem. Yet we must hesitate before accepting Miss Bossi's version. Differences of style, presentation and wording between the two parts are negligible. Incredible episodes are in evidence in the first section: Roland and Turpin dispose of 400 Saracens in one encounter. On the other hand, the incident of Aude's death in the second part is a jewel of impressive simplicity, and the episode of Ganelon's execution is a masterpiece of concision and effectiveness. All of which does not mean that we cannot keep an open mind toward Miss Bossi's theory while awaiting the second volume, in which the evidence will be presented in detail.

The Italian translation, by reason of the author's beliefs, runs only as far as line 2396. From that point on, a few additional *laissez* are translated, to cover what Miss Bossi considers the connecting link between the two parts (pages 117-120). The critical notes contain several *laissez* (belonging to the first part) which Miss Bossi has rejected as apocryphal, for reasons that will appear in the second volume (pages 131-136); and the remainder of the poem is given in literal prose translation (pages 139-192).

Generally speaking, the author's Italian verse translation faithfully follows the Oxford text. Miss Bossi understands her text and controls her Italian well. She states (page 7) that the French epic decasyllabic verse is best rendered in Italian by a five and seven syllable arrangement, and cites the precedent of Pascoli. However technically correct, this system has its esthetic drawbacks. The Italian *sdrucchiolo*, of which Miss Bossi makes rather frequent use, grates unpleasantly upon the ear (line 17: "in questa terra—già venne per confonderci"; line 202: "de' suoi pagani—ve ne mandò già quindici"). So does the *verso tronco* in a spondaic *laisse* (line 37: "per San Michele—lo seguite là"; line 81: "per me direte—a Carlomagno al re"; line 103: "guardate là—verso passi di Spagna").

The answer is, perhaps, that it is impossible to render faithfully in a paroxytonic and proparoxytonic language like Italian the rhythm of a strongly accented, oxytonic tongue like Old French. The best modern approximation to Old French oxytonic rhythm is to be found in English, where practically the same conditions of stress and rhythm prevail, as may be ascertained by a glance at Scott-Moncrieff's masterly translation. In the case of a language like Italian, the two possible alternatives to Miss Bossi's attempt are to sacrifice the original rhythm and literal translation, and recreate the *Roland* on an Italian rhythmical basis, or (and the suggestion is not ironically advanced, but meant in all seriousness) to forego translation. This would be in accordance with the precedents of the *Entrée d'Espagne* and the *Prise de Pampelune*, and the phonology and morphology of Italian, despite differences of stress and rhythm, are still close enough to those of Old French to enable the cultured Italian reader to grasp and appreciate the Old French epic with comparatively little linguistic preparation.

Dr. Voigt's contribution is a study of the literary character in the French and Italian epics, in which, unfortunately, the author's sympathy and enthusiasm for his subject are not equalled by his preparation.

After a cursory presentation of all controversial theories on the origin of the epic (including the most recent ones of Fawtier and Chiri), where he carefully refrains from taking sides, the author plunges into a description of the historical evidence concerning Roland. A good deal of this "historical" evidence, however, is more properly literary, a fact which the author admits by labelling his chapter *Roland dans "l'histoire."*

In his description of the French epic character, Dr. Voigt is frequently guilty of repeating platitudes and superficialities of numerous predecessors.

His oversimplification (page 23) of the spirit of Christian patriotism that inspires Roland is carried over into historical assertions which are to some extent exaggerated: "Cet enthousiasme religieux, qui tient souvent du délire, est conforme à l'esprit du temps. A cette époque, au début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, les seigneurs français faisaient sans relâche la guerre aux Sarrasins d'Espagne." Both history and literature record too many instances of Christian barons serving under Saracen overlords for this assertion to remain unqualified.<sup>1</sup>

"L'honneur" is described (page 29) as "cette nouvelle vertu inconnue aux temps anciens." This also impresses one as somewhat superficial and inaccurate. The legends or historic deeds of Leonidas, Mucius Scaevula, Decius Mus, Curius Dentatus, Attilius Regulus, Lucius Junius Brutus and Manlius Torquatus attest the existence of a sense of "honor" in ancient times, if by honor is meant the willingness to sacrifice one's most treasured possessions to one's code of ethical standards or ideals. The medieval contribution to "honor" appears essentially in the creation of an intangible private domain of the individual, inaccessible even to the sovereign or the state. But this element can hardly be described as a "vertu"; nor can it be said to appear in the character of Roland.

In his study of the epic in Italy, the author brings out one or two essential points: the new comic element (traces of which, however, had appeared much earlier in the French *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem*); the fact that in Pulci's hero the sentiment of unity and patriotism is completely lacking. On the other hand, certain of Dr. Voigt's considerations on Pulci's *Orlando* are almost ludicrous. After quoting (page 109) the passage, xv, 68-69, in which Orlando calls Chiariella "una angiolella," "la mia stella," "Chiariella mia," the one to whom he gives forever the keys of his life, the keeper of his heart and soul, "colei che l'ulivo e la palma m'arrechì, e che mi cavi dallo inferno, e la tempesta mia converti in calma," and in which he says "io vo' che il nostro amor si facci eterno," the author blandly comments: "On serait tenté de croire qu'Orlando aime Chiariella," and denies that there is any proof of his love for her, despite Pulci's (not Orlando's) statement:

E non pote' più oltre Orlando dire,  
Tanta dolcezza gli pareva sentire.

Perhaps Dr. Voigt's concept of love is that it must be everlasting, "car par la suite rien ne prouve qu'il ait jamais aimé Chiariella."

In the *Chanson de Roland*, "Aude n'est encore que la fiancée, ici elle est l'épouse d'Orlando, comme le prouve la strophe 18 du premier chant." And the author gives us a full page of citations in which Alda is repeatedly described as the "sposa" of Orlando. A doubt comes to him at the end of page 111, however: "néanmoins, il y a un passage qui ferait presque douter que des liens conjugaux aient uni Orlando et Alda; c'est la scène de la confession,

1. As a single example, we need only cite the *Chanson de Gormond et Isembart*, and its historical background as described in Hariulf's *Chronicles of Saint-Riquier*.



où il regrette de ne pas avoir épousé la sœur du marquis." It is a pity that the author did not act on this suspicion and consult an Italian dictionary; he would have found that *sposo* and *sposa* have not only the meaning of "husband" and "wife," but also that of "betrothed," "affianced."

Pulci is not always logical in his reasoning, says Dr. Voigt (pages 120-121). His hero, despite his great courage, shows some fear of a lion, and this may have been deliberately inserted to make the audience laugh. Fear mingled with bravery, however, is not a prerogative of Pulci's *Orlando*. Centuries before, Chrétien de Troyes had described his *Yvain* (line 5588) as "de crieme eschaufez," and Pulci may well have drawn from other medieval French sources besides the absolutely fearless *Roland* of the earliest epic.

In his conclusion (page 155), Dr. Voigt contrasts Pulci's *Orlando* with *Roland*: "Plus que lui il aime courir les aventures, se mettre partout au service des faibles, des opprimés et des dames. . . . Bref, il est déjà le type du chevalier plus ou moins 'moderne' et italien." Why Italian? Had not the type appeared and flourished in France two centuries earlier, as the author himself recognizes a few lines below when he states: "Ce ne sera que dans le héros de Boiardo qu'on rencontre toutes les qualités du chevalier des romans bretons."?

In *Le Origini delle canzoni di gesta*, Italy's foremost Villon scholar gives us a brilliant *aperçu* of all the major theories about the rise of the Old French epic. Siciliano is not merely a learned and well-read *savant*; he is also a consummate master of the Italian tongue and an adept in satire, irony and debate, and the reading of his work is a joy.

In his initial chapter on the Romantic theories (the School of Methodical Optimism, as he labels it), he subjects the hypotheses of the early Romantic critics to a searching examination, and shows how vain are theories which seek to build up an entire cycle on the basis of a few geographical indications or proper names. Then, at the start of his chapter on Bédier (Methodical Pessimism), he destroys, with fine sarcasm, the beliefs of the Realistic School, which seeks Germanic origins at a period when Germanicism was dead in France. Step by step, he follows Bédier's slow demolition of the historical theories of his predecessors. He also follows, with considerable sympathy, Bédier's work of reconstruction, but begins to balk when Bédier confuses conjecture with certainty. Does it really suffice, he asks, to localize the legend around the sanctuary to explain the former's historical element? Bédier's weapons, whereby the Germanic and historical theories were destroyed, are now turned against Bédier himself. The roads of pilgrimage, Siciliano pointedly observes (page 54), may also serve the ends of believers in the *cantilènes*, and this may well take us back beyond the eleventh century, which Bédier considered the starting-point of the epic; therefore Bédier, in an attempt to imprison the legend in the sanctuary and localize it in the century of his choice, is compelled to call to his aid itineraries, relics, and the "universal silence" that preceded the eleventh century. But the admissions of Bédier's



fourth volume, says Siciliano (page 55) bring him dangerously close to his predecessors' "*Légion*" of epic precursors and creators. Are the sanctuaries "berceaux" or only "asiles" of the legend? May the latter not have had its inception, though not its fruition, in earlier centuries? The fight between Christians and Mohammedans is far older than the eleventh century, and if a propaganda *motif* for the Crusades was wanted, why did Tuoldus select Roland and Charlemagne as his subjects, and not Eble de Roucy or Godefroy de Bouillon?

Having thus cast the shadow of doubt over all schools, Siciliano proceeds to state, prematurely perhaps (page 64), that we can grant all the lost *cantilènes* in the world, and still assert that the epics were born on French soil, of French poets, in the eleventh century, because that century represents France's great spiritual moment and movement. At this point, without necessarily disagreeing with him, the questions "Why?" and "How?" that Siciliano so often puts to others, might aptly be put to him.

In his discussion of the fresh approaches of Faral, Boissonnade and Pauphilet, the author touches the sore spot of the *Baligant* episode long enough to remark that the matter of the *Roland* is not a unit, but a unification (pages 71-73), and that Tuoldus doubtless gathered many dispersed episodes into his work. We are not so sure. He further keenly points out that Pauphilet's idea that the *Song of Roland* is really the *Song of Charlemagne*, and that the true poem begins only with Charlemagne's vengeance, adds nothing to the solution of the problem of the origins. But the author's vilification of the rôle of Charlemagne in the poem (pages 100-101) does not seem to add anything, either. In discussing the art of Tuoldus (pages 102-103), Siciliano states that the poet's plunging *in medias res*, his anticipation of the death of Roland and the treason of Ganelon, are due to the fact that the audience is already fully aware of the *dénouement* of the *Chanson*. The implication, though Siciliano does not explicitly say so, is the preëxistence of a legend, or epic, or *cantilène*, or rosary of *cantilènes*, and this throws us back into the arms of the Romanticists; but, to out-Bédier Bédier and out-Siciliano Siciliano, may it not also be argued that anticipation is a common literary device, frequent at all periods, and especially common in the Middle Ages, where the element of time is of little moment and eternity is paramount? And have not many writers, before and after Tuoldus, begun *in medias res*? Several vicious circles, Siciliano states (page 111), are manifest in the problem of the epic. Which comes first, the *cantilène* or the *Chanson*? The cleric or the *jongleur*? The legend or history? The road or the poem?

And now, in a chapter entitled *Divagazioni e stravaganze*, the author enters what he must consider the most controversial part of his study. Here the quality of serene discussion, respect for the ideas of others, and careful, if somewhat flippant evaluation of theories and evidence, which characterizes the earlier chapters, is, unfortunately, completely lacking. The severity of Siciliano's criticism of Wilmotte, whom he rightly or wrongly considers the main exponent of the theory of the continuation of the Latin epic, achieves

heights of biting sarcasm and venomous virulence to which his extraordinary command of a highly expressive language lends peculiar effectiveness. The bitterness of the attack seems largely unwarranted. Granted that the evidence presented by Wilmotte and his followers is indirect and inconclusive, one is led to wonder why proponents of other theories, who have not much more to offer, fare so much better at Siciliano's hands, and why Chiri, who advances ideas quite similar to Wilmotte's, is very gently treated by comparison. To cite but one example of Siciliano's multiple injustices in this matter, we may remark that the Belgian philologist is satirized (page 155, note 1) for "accepting in his conclusions all conclusions, even those which condemn the theory he upholds." And to think that in his discussion of earlier polemics, Siciliano repeatedly condemns Rajna's attacks upon the theories of his opponents as "unserene"!

Siciliano's last chapter consists mainly of a tribute to Ferdinand Lot for casting doubt on Bédier and at the same time "complementing" him, and a slap at Fawtier for placing too much stress on the historical repercussions of the defeat of Roncevaux.

Siciliano's final conclusions are: all theories have an element of truth (with the exception of Wilmotte's, we presume, in view of what has gone on in Chapter v); all have at least elements of verisimilitude (again with the same exception); we cannot really ever know the truth (is this Bédier's "methodical pessimism" pushed to its logical conclusion?).

On the constructive side, Siciliano believes in the creative genius of the individual (Tuoldus in the present instance), who may have been influenced by "learned" or "popular" currents, but really wrote to suit himself. Siciliano rejects the ultra-utilitarian and ultra-materialistic aspects of Bédier's theory. He upholds the intimate fusion of the epic-military and the religious spirit (but without further investigating this field, which might prove fruitful). He rejects the theory of Germanic origins, since the Germanic spirit is foreign to the French epic. He remains, like Bédier, firmly anchored to the eleventh century. He again hints at a new spiritual and historical state of affairs in the France of that period, but again without telling us why. And he falls into overstatement when he says (page 211, note 1): "those very centuries, the ninth and the tenth, which, in the opinion of some, witnessed the formation of the literary tradition and the most original poetry of the Middle Ages, are, as everyone knows, the poorest centuries from the literary standpoint, centuries which produce nothing and seem incapable of producing anything."

This is reminiscent of Bédier's "universal silence." The pupil has learned his lesson well. But how much truth is there in the lesson?

To begin with, the genius of Tuoldus does not solve the problem of the historical conditions leading to his creation. Would Virgil have written the *Aeneid* without the Empire of Augustus? Would Rutebeuf, placed in a fifteenth century *cadre*, have been a Villon? Or a nonentity? It is idle to expect an answer to these questions. But "universal silence" does not reign in France

before the *Song of Roland*. The triad composed of the *Eulalie*, *Léger* and *Alexis* presents a literary tradition in the new vernacular which is quite capable of turning into epic channels, granted the proper historical impulse. Tuoldus might have been content to write another, vaster, more esthetically beautiful hagiographic work, had not conditions been ripe for the military-epic outlet. What brings about this shift in point of view, whereby the martyr-saint turns into the soldier-saint? Is it the consciousness of a new, embattled Christendom, fighting for survival against outside foes, a consciousness matured through centuries of border warfare against Spanish Moors and pagan Saxons, and of savage Norman raids on the unprotected river towns of France? Or is it the need for mass "propaganda" in connection with Christendom's newly begun adventure beyond its own borders, in a novel counter-offensive attempt that replaces a century-old defensive conflict against anti-Christian forces? This is a problem for the historians to solve.

The essential point is that both critics and critics of critics have overlooked the possibility that the religious epic of earliest French literature may have ripened into the religious-military epic of the earliest *Chanson de geste*, which represents the common meeting-ground of religious and feudal literature. Once the feudal-military aspect is brought in, it quickly takes the upper hand, since it represents a more immediate and intimate factor in the country's life, and religion drops into the background. A study of the features which the *Eulalie*, *Léger*, *Alexis* and *Roland* hold in common might richly reward its initiator.

The solution of the problem involves, in certain respects, linguistic rather than literary considerations. While the new vernacular of France is in the process of establishment, its steps are slow, hesitating and uncertain, reflecting crude attempts at the continuation, in the new medium, of the traditional literature of earlier centuries. Then Siciliano's "creative genius" appears on the scene, seizes the medium, combines it with the spirit of the times, and produces a literary *genre* which, by the very nature of its inception and development, necessarily attains the apex of perfection at its very outset, and is thereafter doomed to undergo a degenerative process by reason of poorly equipped imitators, who strive to fly on the wings of their more gifted predecessor's popular success.

There is also something to be learned in this connection from the literary development of other Romance countries, in which, *mutatis mutandis*, a somewhat analogous process goes on at a later date. In Spain, it is the *Mystery of the Magian Kings* which antedates the *Cantar de Myo Çid*, an epic concerning whose indebtedness to the French cycle there still lingers some doubt. In Italy, the spiritual precursors of Dante's religious epic are far more the obscure *Ritmo cassinese* and *Ritmo marchigiano* of the eleventh century and the religious poetry of St. Francis than the worldly lyrics of Provence, Sicily and Bologna. Although in both countries the movement is clouded by factors which are not operative for eleventh-century France (possibility of foreign

influence; flowering of Classical studies), the essentials appear to be the same. A new popular language, unfolding out of rough vernaculars, and co-incident with a growing civilization that has new ideals, is at first hesitatingly put to work in literary form in a field (the religious) where the masses hold sway. Then, as it gains force, prestige and assurance, it is turned into epic channels, where its appeal becomes still more far-reaching. And, in each case, this is accomplished by a literary giant who has the genius to combine the new, popular medium of expression with the spirit peculiar to his own period.

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*The Beginning of Wisdom.* An Astrological Treatise by ABRAHAM IBN EZRA. Edited by RAPHAEL LEVY and FRANCISCO CANTERA. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939. Pp. lxxvi+237.

In their edition of Ibn Ezra's ראשית חכמה, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, Raphael Levy and Francisco Cantera have made a valuable contribution to the history of science, to the history of medieval Hebrew literature and to French lexicography. The juxtaposition in one volume of an edition of the Hebrew original, the French translation by Hagin Juif (with a glossary of the Old French), and a literal English translation of the Hebrew, contributes greatly to the study and appreciation of Ibn Ezra's astrological work. The introduction to the book is concise and well done.

The work suffers, however, from faults which one would not expect in a scholarly work of this type. In the preparation of the Hebrew text, only the six manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale were used. Though the editors were aware of the existence of other Hebrew MSS of this particular work, no study of them is mentioned, and no reference is made to them either in the text or in the footnotes listing the variant readings. This reviewer has compared the Hebrew text as edited by Francisco Cantera with one of the fifteenth-century manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary. It was found, upon comparing the texts, that from the beginning of the work to the end of the first chapter, there were approximately 55 variant readings in the Seminary manuscript, which were not contained in any of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Some of the variants are significant and demonstrate the need for a more fully documented and a more critical edition of the Hebrew text.

Though the Hebrew is "An edition of the Hebrew Original of 1148" it should be noted that the earliest Hebrew manuscript *used* dates from 1314, which is a later date than the manuscript of the French translation of the work by Hagin Juif, which is of 1273.

Another weakness is the faulty translation of the Hebrew into English. Though the translation is claimed to be a literal one, it cannot be considered as

such. There is inconsistency in the translation of the scientific and philosophical terminology of Ibn Ezra. For example, the word נלל on page v, line 9, is rendered "firmament," whereas for the same word on line 20 of that page, "sphere" is used. There is no evidence to support the correctness of the first translation (see קלצקין *אוצר המונחים* הפילוסופיים, I, 114). This is further borne out by the rendering into French by Hagin Juif, where the term is consistently "espere."

This is not the only fault which may be found with the English translation. Some of the Hebrew text is omitted, without indication of the fact. Seven words of the Hebrew on page v, line 4: ובהפרד נשמתו מנחתו תחילתו יש וחי are missing. So too on page vi, line 16, Dr. Levy has omitted ובבתולה כ"ז.

The editing of the French part of the edition is competent. Dr. Levy has used seven manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which date from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The text itself is copiously supplemented by references to the variant readings. It might have been advisable to note the places where the French fails to translate part of the Hebrew text. The glossary to the French text gives evidence of great care in its preparation, but the editor does not mention the Hebrew word for which the French is a translation. Such a system would have facilitated a comparison of the French words used by Rashi with those of Hagin Juif.

Dr. Levy's earlier work on Ibn Ezra was comprehensive and contained much useful material in its lengthy introduction. The value of his present work would have been enhanced by the inclusion of more such material. The introduction might have mentioned the sources Ibn Ezra used for his work, and a Bibliography might have been appended.

In spite of these shortcomings the book is of decided merit and value. When handled with care, the material will be of great interest and use to the student in this field.

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*Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance.* By HELAINE NEWSTEAD. New York, Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 222.

In this charmingly written book the author investigates all the French romances that may potentially conserve reminiscences of Celtic tales about Bran the Blessed (Bendigaid Frân). She finds traces of the old Welsh hero not only in Robert de Boron's *Metrical Joseph*, in Chrétien's *Conte del Graal* and its continuations, in the *Didot Perceval*, the *Perlesvaus*, the Vulgate *Estoire*, *Queste* and *Lancelot*, but also in *Fouke Fitz Warin*, in Chrétien's *Erec* and *Charrete*, and elsewhere. Her analogues are strikingly persuasive in general (see, for instance, the table, page 85). Moreover, by indicating clearly just how a Celtic nucleus may have been blurred, confused and transformed

by later attempts at interpretation she often succeeds in resolving most reasonably various puzzling inconsistencies in our texts. Her approach to the whole question is sane and objective (pages 3-12) and her conclusions (pages 187-200) are engagingly free from exaggerated claims.

As Miss Newstead herself recognizes, however, there may be room for disagreement with some of her suggestions. For example, despite all the arguments adduced here (pages 39 ff.) and in the many studies of this controversial subject preceding hers, it is difficult for some of us to connect the title "Rich Fisher" (variants: "Good Fisher" and "Fisher King") with a Welsh hero who may or may not have been a sea god and whose devotion to fishing is nowhere mentioned in Celtic tradition. The Christian symbolism of the fish, so obvious in Robert de Boron's narrative (ll. 2487 ff.), so universal in medieval thought, and so ubiquitous especially in the iconography of the Last Supper from Byzantine times on (cf. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pages 111 ff.), seems to offer a much more plausible explanation. Yet if this explanation be accepted, then the title "Fisher" in Robert de Boron, Chrétien, and elsewhere, derives not from an ultimate Welsh source, but from a more proximate Christian version of that source, and we face again the old problem of how many posited resemblances in these tales owe their origin to underlying Celtic material, how many to direct connections between the tales themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Some will also feel that by equating certain details in the French romances with Celtic analogues, the author has at times attempted to rationalize elements that were intentionally left mysterious and unsolved by our early romancers. It is assumed, for instance, that the *Didot Perceval* is not an abridgement of Chrétien's text since, if it were, it would not have eliminated "so significant a feature as the sword" (page 65). But the incident of the sword in the *Conte del Graal*—like that of the Dameisele Sauvage in *Yvain* and other episodes one might cite from the completed romances—is never explained by the poet. Why should not an abridgement omit it? There is the further possibility, not envisaged in this book, that various "analogues" derive from an unconscious process of imitation akin to re-invention. Certain fairy-tale patterns appear and reappear today in the stories written or extemporized for children: is it pertinent or illuminating to equate each good fairy who grants three wishes, each childless couple whose desire for offspring is belatedly fulfilled, each princess, giant, witch, feast, test, and magic happening with an antecedent folk-tale? Granted that it is not such individual analogues which count, but a series of them. Even so, some of the series posited in this volume depend upon a fairly wide latitude of interpretation: a young hero wounded in the foot by a poisoned dart may appear in later tales as an old man wounded by a javelin through both thighs; a severed head may appear as a grail; a cauldron as a horn; a horn as a body, bull or court—and so on. A

1. In this connection one would have welcomed a discussion of the chronology of the poems of Chrétien and Robert in the light of Ph. Aug. Becker's article in *ZRP*, LV (1935), 260-269, as well as some criticism of the views of Anitchkof in *R*, LV (1929), 174 ff.



certain pyramiding of hypotheses is also allowed: "it is therefore very likely that one of Blessed Bran's titles may have been . . . the Noble Head" (page 19). "If Bran is the Noble Head, it follows that he is also a wanderer . . ." (page 20). Bran's title, the Noble Head, is assumed as established in the rest of the book. Similarly, "Bran is connected with the sea. . . . He is most probably a god of the sea" (page 18). Various hypotheses depend on his being a sea god and by page 197 he is mentioned without qualification as "the ancient Welsh god of the sea."

Reading the Welsh *Branwen* and the few other references to Bran which have survived, and then rereading the French tales that supposedly preserve some memory of these, any reader will probably be more impressed by differences of tone, interest and development than by resemblances. As Miss Newstead says (page 86), the French romancers, "like all story-tellers of the period . . . were accustomed to interpret their material in terms of the life about them." Now, conceivably, a magic cauldron may turn into a life-giving grail, and a hero, "who was never contained within a house" and who, wounded in a fight, ordered himself beheaded, may possibly reappear as an old king, mysteriously lying incapacitated by a great fire in a castle hall and deriving his sole sustenance from a consecrated wafer. For most readers, however, the greater interest will reside in learning the meaning of these wide-ranging and significant changes. Miss Newstead satisfactorily explains some of them as due to non-surviving Welsh sources, to Breton *conteurs*, to paleographical errors, to lost manuscripts, to "modification through the literary intelligence of the romancers themselves." But she expressly denies the assumption that these romancers may have invented their stories with little or no dependence upon tradition (page 199).

Perhaps, however, this assumption needs further investigation. Perhaps something now needs to be written about the contemporary conditions of thought and ways of life that contributed to the more obvious and drastic transformations which the traditional material has undergone. The author herself says that the grail legend is "a chaotic composite of many Celtic tales and themes, further complicated by assimilation to Christian tradition" (page 199). It seems not unlikely that one might now recapture more of the essential magic in these romances by studying the elements that the French writers have contributed to them, their selection, arrangement and interpretation of the old folk tales, their interlacing of pagan and Christian themes, than by assembling more Celtic analogues. For such further study, Miss Newstead's readable and cautiously reasoned book, laying as it does many a firm foundation, will be indispensable. But now that so many sources and analogues have been found, is it not time for a revaluation of what, after all, has been done with them? Somehow, putting the Blessed Bran back in the French romances has the effect of making him but a sorry guest at his own feast, an unreal ghost amid unfamiliar surroundings.

GRACE FRANK

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*Jean Racine.* By A. F. B. CLARK. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. xiv + 354.

Voici un livre de bonne foi, et de bonne volonté. L'auteur enseigne en Colombie britannique et s'était déjà fait estimer par un travail important sur Boileau et la critique classique française en Angleterre. Il a voulu, à l'occasion du troisième centenaire de la naissance du poète, donner sur Racine l'ouvrage général, bien informé et chaleureux, qui amènerait à la connaissance et peut-être à l'admiration de Racine les auditoires de langue anglaise. Les analyses de pièces et les citations occupent une large partie du volume. L'érudit ou l'amateur de Racine ne trouveront rien ici de très neuf: il souhaitera sans doute que l'auteur se fût tenu plus hardiment au-dessus de son public, pour l'élever jusqu'à lui. Nous n'osons croire que les lecteurs américains ou britanniques seront saisis en grand nombre de soudaine ferveur racinienne après avoir parcouru ce livre. Est-il même souhaitable que le culte de Racine dépasse le cercle d'une élite? Au moins, cette monographie critique, la première consacrée à Racine en anglais, mérite pleinement notre estime.

L'auteur possède et déploie les meilleures qualités universitaires, avec tout ce que ces mérites impliquent de conscience, de sagesse raisonnable, de jugement équitable, et peut-être aussi une défiance excessive du point de vue neuf, de la personnalité critique ardente et passionnée, mais révélatrice, du style vibrant et artiste. L'ouvrage est fort diligemment et solidement informé de tous les résultats atteints par l'histoire littéraire: il présente avec vivacité le milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle qui vit naître la tragédie racinienne (atmosphère de roman russe, drame des poisons, intrigues amoureuses et criminelles); il souligne la fausseté des préjugés de naguère sur l'influence retrécissante des trois unités. Les diverses tragédies sont examinées avec prudence, appréciées selon les mérites que leur assigne l'opinion de notre siècle; enfin, le problème délicat de la conversion ou de la retraite de Racine est traité avec justesse, sans un parti-pris, sans une seule exagération ou sottise, ce qui ne fut pas le cas de tous les livres récents consacrés à Racine par de trop fougueux Français.

Il reste que M. Clark nous explique Racine, laborieusement et impartialement, mais ne nous le fait guère sentir. Et cela est regrettable, car il est à craindre que les nombreuses citations traduites à la fin du volume (et empruntées pour la plupart à de précédents traducteurs) ne contribuent guère à gagner aux talismans du vers racinien les lecteurs incapables de sentir la beauté mélodieuse et sensuelle du texte. Il reste aussi que l'auteur n'a guère tenté de renouveler son sujet: il reflète fidèlement l'opinion de la critique française d'aujourd'hui, et cela est dommage. N'y aurait-il pas lieu de placer *Mithridate* plus haut, *Athalie* nettement plus bas, de défendre ce personnage d'Hippolyte qui, moins séduisant que le héros d'Euripide, ne manque pourtant de charme timide et fier, et ne mérite point tant de blâme pour être un représentant du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle français? L'analyse des pièces (genre si difficile, on le sait, dès qu'il dédaigne la concision) occupe une place démesurée, à côté de la portion congrue réservée à l'appréciation critique (23 pages d'analyse



d'*Andromaque* et dix lignes de jugement, page 146). Enfin, le style de l'auteur est terne et pesant; les transitions sont d'un professeur dans son cours oral plus que d'un écrivain (voir la fin du chapitre III, page 98, ou les *then* répétés pages 129-130, traduisant mal les brusques et changeantes surprises qui bouleversent Hermione et Pyrrhus).

Une fois de plus, comme devant d'autres diligents travaux de l'érudition américaine ou britannique, nous aurions souhaité, pour notre part, que l'auteur eût suivi moins docilement le point de vue traditionnel de la critique française et fût parti plus nettement encore des obstacles qui peuvent arrêter les Anglo-Saxons au seuil de la chapelle racinienne. Le classicisme "servile" de Racine n'est plus une objection bien solide, depuis que T. S. Eliot et d'autres critiques de langue anglaise se sont faits les champions nostalgiques des Unités. La prétendue déclamation de Racine paraît moindre que celle de Marlowe, de Shakespeare parfois et de ceux que Virginia Woolf appelle "these strange Elizabethans"; "In no drama," écrivait fort justement H. Grierson en 1906 dans *The First Half of the XVII<sup>th</sup> Century*, "is there really so little declamation as in the French . . . Every word from the beginning to the 'Hélas!' at the close helps the action forward a step." Par contre l'habitude ou la superstition shakespeariennes occupent l'oreille comme la mémoire des lecteurs anglo-saxons. Ils découvrent Racine après avoir été nourris de Shakespeare; ils demandent au dramaturge français, comme l'a dit F. C. Eccles "a higher temperature of language. . . . They think feverish and coloured words essential to any poetry which deals with human passions." Il aurait valu la peine de reprendre une bonne fois le vieux parallèle Shakespeare-Racine. Enfin (et nous rêvons d'une étude qui le proclamerait de façon persuasive), cessons, comme, depuis Hazlitt et Macaulay, les Anglais l'ont obstinément voulu, de voir dans le théâtre racinien une copie affadie du théâtre grec. Dans ce pays même, la meilleure étude américaine consacrée à Racine, que nous avons regretté de ne pas voir mentionnée dans la bibliographie de M. Clark (celle de P. H. Frye, *University of Nebraska Studies*, 1919, Vol. XIX) s'acharne à prouver que Racine n'a pas compris ou a mal compris le génie hellénique. Cela est trop certain! Racine n'a nullement perçu l'essence de la tragédie grecque, la religion; il ignore le paysage, la vie des Grecs et ce que Nietzsche appellera leur dionysisme; son théâtre n'a rien de la souriante résignation aux décrets du destin qui caractérise les Grecs, et ses personnages, dépourvus de *σωφροσύνη*, auraient été gravement coupables d'*ὑβρις* aux yeux des Hellènes; la sévère construction de son drame, tout appuyé sur l'intérêt de curiosité, s'éloigne du dialogue moral coupé de chants lyriques qui reste le squelette de la tragédie d'Athènes; enfin, un Grec aurait été plus choqué par le rôle de la femme dans Racine et la hardie peinture de l'amour qu'il n'aurait pu l'être par les chastes et soumises héroïnes de Shakespeare.

En fait, le drame de Racine est une création profondément originale qui regarde tout entière vers l'avenir, et qui a contribué grandement à forger le théâtre moderne (y compris Ibsen et O'Neill), et notre conception moderne

de l'amour (y compris Proust, Mauriac, et jusqu'à D. H. Lawrence). Même comme poète, Racine n'a quasi rien en commun avec les Grecs, et bien davantage avec Virgile, ou Baudelaire, ou peut-être Milton, Marvell ou Wordsworth. Une étude plus brève, plus intense et plus neuve sur ces quelques points aurait peut-être mieux servi la compréhension et la diffusion de l'œuvre racinienne que cet ouvrage consciencieux qui fait comprendre, mais ne pique guère la curiosité ou l'enthousiasme. Et le moment serait propice. La conviction erronée que Racine était un faux Grec a perdu de sa force depuis Schlegel et Hazlitt; l'idolâtrie shakespearienne est moins exclusive ou moins jalouse, même dans les universités américaines; et le plus grand des obstacles à la compréhension anglo-saxonne de Racine (une certaine timidité effarouchée devant ce que Giraudoux appelle le "cannibalisme" amoureux ou charnel des héros raciniens) commence à disparaître chez les lecteurs de Lawrence, d'Huxley, d'O'Neill et de W. Faulkner.

Nous n'en voudrions pour indice que l'article récent (23 décembre 1939) où le grave supplément littéraire du *Times* londonien notait que les Anglais avaient cessé de sourire de ce monde racinien "which had nothing to do but to make love. . . . Now . . . we are readier than we were to listen to the gentle cynics who point out that love-making is about the most harmless thing a civilization can be engaged in. Not merely the most harmless, the lover of Racine would say, but the most exciting and, in a sense, the most satisfying. The delicate intensity of conscious experience reaches its maximum in the passion of love in a highly civilized society. . . . Such was the world, and such the passion which provided the background and the substance for the tragedies of Racine."

Il y a là un symptôme curieux du rapprochement intellectuel, dirons-nous, du mariage de raison et d'amour, réalisé en ce siècle par Français et Anglo-Saxons. L'ouvrage de M. Clark n'a point la subtilité ou la flamme des quelques pages où Lytton Strachey et Waldo Frank ont perçu et rendu plus intensément la grandeur et le mystère de Racine; mais il constitue, mieux que l'étude récente et décevante d'A. Tilley, que la biographie de Mary Duclaux, que maint ouvrage français hâtif ou partial de ces dernières années, l'exposé le plus sage et le plus sûr des raisons qu'ont les modernes de lire et d'aimer Racine.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Quelque sourcilieux géographe pourrait préférer qu'Uzès (page 65) fût placé en Languedoc, ou "dans le Midi" si c'est là ce que veut dire le titre général de "Racine en Provence." Une très utile bibliographie termine le volume. Elle ne prétend point être complète; mais nous regrettons de n'y pas trouver deux titres américains essentiels (les pages de Frye et de Waldo Frank). Parmi les titres allemands, il aurait été juste de mentionner les études de Meriam-Genest et de Spoerri (toutes deux dans *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 1935 et 1933 respectivement), et les fines appréciations de R. A. Schröder, dans *Corona* (1931), intitulées "Racine und die deutsche Humanität."

*Jeunesse de Diderot (de 1713 à 1753)*. Par FRANCO VENTURI. Traduit de l'italien par JULIETTE BERTRAND. A. Skira, 1939. Pp. 416.

The publication in France of four new studies on Diderot within two years must constitute some sort of record for the philosopher from Langres.<sup>1</sup> Decidedly Diderot is à la mode and has ceased to be exclusively a prophet abroad.

Whether this renewal of curiosity in the most modern of eighteenth-century writers is a reaction against the neglect he has suffered from, a sort of retributive justice to the man and his ideas, or a genuine interest in his message, it is difficult to answer. Certainly the "real" Diderot is a very elusive and puzzling person for the critics. M. Jean Thomas, in his book *L'Humanisme de Diderot*, which, in spite of its modest dimensions, is still perhaps the best thing that has been written on the subject, has made an amusing collection of the embarrassed contradictions of critics before that "tête de girouette." *Est-il bon? Est-il méchant?* And the same contradictions are to be found from beginning to end of Diderot's works. It is the merit and originality of M. Venturi's study that he has brought out the underlying unity in Diderot's thought, particularly in its formative orientations. M. Venturi's work is an answer to the appeal made by M. Thomas that a systematic and chronological study of the evolution of Diderot's ideas be undertaken.<sup>2</sup>

M. Venturi sees as the center and culminating masterpiece of all of Diderot's activity the *Encyclopédie*, "un chef-d'œuvre pratique" (page 9), and sensibly asserts what should appear so obvious to those who have denied to the man any lasting monument for his long years of labor: "Diderot doit être considéré comme un des plus importants parmi les hommes qui surent donner un sens politique à la philosophie des lumières. Cette force qui avait encore souvent, dans la première moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle une expression purement littéraire ou religieuse, trouva, vers le milieu du siècle, un enthousiasme, une énergie, une force suffisants pour faire de la France le centre d'une Europe conquise aux lumières" (page 9). It is from this point of view that M. Venturi has undertaken to write the "histoire politique de Denis Diderot" encompassing those years of formation which extend from his arrival in Paris to the publication of the *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*.

In dealing with Diderot's "politique," M. Venturi emphasizes the efficacy of his ideas and their "raison du moment," showing at the publication of each new work the repercussions and as it were the impact of these books on the mind of the contemporary public. Especially profitable portions of each chapter are devoted to a careful examination of contemporary opinion, showing the increasing alarm and realization among the ecclesiastical reviewers that here, in the words of the police report, was "un garçon plein d'esprit mais

1. The three others are: Jean Pommier, *Diderot avant Vincennes*, Paris, Boivin, 1939; H. Gillot, *Denis Diderot: Homme, ses idées philosophiques, esthétiques et littéraires*, Paris, Librairie George Courville, 1937; Jean Luc, *Diderot: l'artiste et le philosophe*, Paris, Editions Sociales Internationales, 1938.

2. MM. Venturi and Thomas have collaborated on a critical edition of Dom Descamps's *Le Vrai Système*, Paris, 1939.

extrêmement dangereux." At times M. Venturi seems to tend to dramatize as a modern political conspiracy the situation Diderot found himself in. (The book is dedicated to the memory of Carlo Rosselli.) "Changer la façon commune de penser" may also imply the desire to change other things as well. At any event this method of presentation adds color and vivacity to the exposition of the facts, notably in the case of the Affaire de Prades.

There is no particular fault to be found with M. Venturi's division of Diderot's life and work into three periods: period of formation, the *Encyclopédie*, and the relative retirement. It is certainly true that the all-absorbing work as editor-in-chief of this *Dictionnaire raisonné* put an end to Diderot's personal writings, or at least prevented him from giving more than his idle moments to short pieces. However this may be, it is the first period, the least known, that M. Venturi has studied exclusively in order to find in the very process of elaboration and clarification the essential and guiding principles of Diderot's thought and method.

On the biographical side M. Venturi has little new to say, as is to be expected in view of the reluctance of the family now in possession of the philosopher's papers to place them at the disposal of scholars.<sup>3</sup> He has succeeded nevertheless in suggesting very cleverly the probable circumstances of Diderot's existence during the so-called *années de bohème* by reconstructing his *milieu* through his connections with Toussaint, Prémontval, Bernis, Baculard d'Arnaud, Fougeret de Monbron and Gousse—a generation of men agitated by extraordinary intellectual curiosity. Then the responsibility of supporting a young household, lessons, hack work, and translation: of James's *History of Medicine*, Stanyan's *History of Greece* and, finally, of Shaftesbury's *Essay*.

This Shaftesbury translation, M. Venturi shows, is the first step in Diderot's emancipation from formal scholastic reasoning. His encounter with a kindred spirit across the Channel stimulated his effort to "élargir Dieu." In Shaftesbury's *enthusiasm*, the creative force of religion and morals, Diderot perceived the speculative and artistic possibilities. Here, at the same time, in Shaftesbury's revolt against the rigid schemas of formal reason he finds a new and unexpected argument for the cause of Enlightenment. The translation furnished Diderot with the notion of establishing a natural basis for *vertu*, morals and *bienséance*, freed from transcendental sanctions. The inner vital force and aspiration, the disposition and temperament towards good become part of a universal law: "Tant à Diderot qu'à Shaftesbury, l'enthousiasme se présente comme un abandon aux lois intimes de leur personnalité" (page 52). Apology for passions, humanitarian impulses opposed to monastic

3. The second appendix in Professor Gillot's work contains an inventory of Diderot papers, without a word of comment, under the following heading: "Liste des pièces et papiers se trouvant à l'Abbaye de Septfontaines compris dans un inventaire du 29 juin 1913 . . . communiquée par M<sup>e</sup> Benoît, notaire à Andelot (Haute-Marne)." The first appendix is a letter, hitherto unpublished, from Diderot's brother, the Canon of Langres.

renunciation, acceptance of Nature's dictates, with man bound intimately with the rest of the vital world—these convictions, founded on a hypothesis and method and arrived at through groping and methodical questioning, M. Venturi follows from the Shaftesbury translation to the final though tentative vitalism of a Spinoza-like faith expressed in the *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*. A method is forged; Diderot is ready for the task of assembling and classifying man's beliefs and thoughts, his techniques and failures, ready to bring about the foundation of his "Île de Lampéduse," an ideal society of the tolerant and the philosophical which "would leaven the whole lump."

M. Venturi's book is a difficult one to review in detailed analysis, not only because it is *dense* but also because it is frequently obscure, mainly in its language. First written in Italian, it can scarcely have gained much by translation. Paragraph and chapter conclusions are frequently quite unrelated to the author's demonstrations; his quotations often have no bearing on statements they should support; the long digression on Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the concluding chapter seems entirely out of place. One cannot help regretting that M. Venturi has not bestowed on the expression of his ideas the same patient care and exactness that he has shown elsewhere.

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*Hippolyte Taine: Essai sur l'unité de sa pensée.* Par K. DE SCHAEPRUYVER. Paris, Droz, 1938. Pp. 187.

The doctrines of Taine are familiar to everybody and everywhere outmoded. Such was the formula suggested a few years ago by Henri Fontenoy<sup>1</sup> in reviewing Maxime Leroy's new book on the critic.<sup>2</sup> Any attempt at rehabilitation, Fontenoy explained, is at once a pious gesture and "un périlleux sauvetage," since the man himself now appears so lacking in warmth and color. It is indeed true that Taine and his family have made sure that all we really know of him is the quality of his mind. Perhaps that is all we should care to know, yet the critic himself in a famous manifesto insisted that back of any article or book is the man whose intimate thoughts and feelings and experiences we must investigate in order properly to appraise what he wrote. He never was willing to have the method applied to his own case. He once started a very personal novel, *Etienne Mayran*, now recognized as a kind of autobiography, and then broke off because he found he was writing too intimately about himself.<sup>3</sup> Whenever in conversation he mentioned himself he instinctively lowered his voice. His personal life was above reproach and a sealed book, affirms J. A. Jusserand in the quaintly entitled *What Me Befell*.<sup>4</sup> The four volumes of letters issued under the authority of his family are

1. *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 12 décembre 1933.

2. *Taine*, Paris, Rieder, 1933.

3. Paul Bourget, "Etienne Mayran," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 mars 1900, p. 252.

4. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1933, p. 80.

largely exchanges of ideas between his and other minds. There were more than four hundred letters in the Taine-Elise Krinitz correspondence, but the family of the critic took possession of these after the death of the two principals. What qualities of tenderness or of passion they revealed can only be guessed by a few references the warm-hearted and saddened woman makes to her one-time close friend, in her memoirs published under the pen-name Camille Selden.<sup>5</sup> The fairly recent book of André Chevrillon about his uncle is entitled *Taine, formation de sa pensée*;<sup>6</sup> here we learn that Taine called a Beethoven sonata beautiful as a syllogism, that he considered man "un théorème qui marche" and a civilization "une définition qui se développe." And now this most recent study of the critic has for its subtitle: *Essai sur l'unité de sa pensée*.

We were reasonably sure already that throughout the forty years of his writing Taine did not essentially vary in his ideas. He does indeed declare at the age of twenty: "je prends l'engagement . . . d'examiner toujours de nouveau mes principes,"<sup>7</sup> but it is only necessary to go through the four volumes of letters which this statement so to speak heads to be convinced that he constantly failed to do what he so honestly and so firmly—perhaps for the realization of this program of flexibility too firmly—intended. His formula for liberalism may suggest to the American reader the remark of Justice Holmes that a truly civilized man is forever willing to question first principles. There is little in the Taine record to indicate that he lived up to any such standard of open-mindedness. He was always pressing toward conclusions; Saint-Beuve in the friendliest of tones reproached him for this in private and in public, begged him not to hurry interlocutors into downright answers, besought him to allow for *nuances*. Taine continued to prove at least by example what he wrote in one of his earliest works: "On est toujours ce que l'on a d'abord été."<sup>8</sup> So it is no particular shock to find some one now formally—and successfully—demonstrating the unity, M. Schaeppdryver might well have said the rigidity, of his thought.

Much space is given to parallels between Taine and Spengler, notably with reference to *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*. At first this seems merely a lining up, with a touch of pedantry, of similar passages and one is inclined to ask: "What of it?" Later M. Schaeppdryver shows a really striking identity or near-identity of methods, as well as of views on the decadence of western civilization. Yet he never says anything of a direct relation between Taine and Spengler, and here is a question we wish he had asked, and attempted to answer with specifications. Some years ago when Spengler was translated into English the *Saturday Review*<sup>9</sup> spoke enthusiastically of the "engaging

5. Cf. J. Wright, *Camille Selden, sa vie, son œuvre*, Paris, Champion, 1931.

6. Paris, Plon, 1932.

7. *Vie et correspondance*, I, 26.

8. *Tite-Live*, p. 4.

9. September 18, 1926.



[and apparently to the *S.R.L.* the quite fresh] theory" of the unity of a civilization at a given period. The theory is either pure Taine or what for many it has been convenient to associate with his name—unless we wish to go back to Hegel. There are like concepts in Emerson, who extended the unity in his own style when he said that to a really enlightened person Aristophanes and Rabelais are full of American history. This he wrote in his *Journal* in April 1847, when Taine was just nineteen years old. Here we touch upon the whole large question of the evolution of the so-called New History. Taine's own manifesto mentioned above was first published, it is recalled, not as an introduction to his *Littérature anglaise* but as an article entitled "L'Histoire, son présent et son avenir" (*Revue Germanique*, décembre 1863). I regret that M. Schaeppdryver since he chose to bring up the Taine-Spengler problem did not choose to go a little further.

The workmanship of the book is not always good and there are a number of vulnerable generalizations. The Bibliography is deliberately selective, but it is hard to understand how the substantial and important book of Chevrillon could be omitted, or Bourget's study of 1920 (*Nouvelles Pages de critique et de doctrine*, II) or Sainte-Beuve's significant review of the *Littérature anglaise* (*Nouveaux Lundis*, VIII, 66-137). There was no edition of Etienne Mayran in 1861; it was written at about that date but first published in 1909 (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 mars—1<sup>er</sup> avril). The first edition of the *Littérature anglaise*, 1863 (if it was 1863 and not the beginning of 1864) numbered three volumes, not five (cf. the Giraud Bibliography which M. Schaeppdryver lists). Taine's "pessimisme absolu" (page 9) certainly breaks down in such a mood as that near the end of the *Notes sur Paris* (pages 331-333). The fatalistic notion of the inescapable ferocity of the human beast (pages 22, 77, 179) is assuredly modified in Taine's famous letter to Bourget concerning *Le Disciple* (*Vie et Correspondance*, IV, 292). Chapter V, "Taine et le problème religieux," might better be entitled "Taine et le catholicisme." Taine abandoned orthodoxy at an early date but he continued after his own fashion to worship, he wrote with approval of those who "adorent l'idéal, mais . . . ne l'épaississent pas en allégories" (*Vie et Correspondance*, II, 199), and to label such a man "areligieux" (page 77) is simplistic. When the author calls Taine a notoriety seeker (page 177) he forgets completely, in the heat of affirmation, the engaging modesty of this great scholar.

M. Schaeppdryver suggests near the end that some one should write a book about Taine entitled *Grandeur et misère d'une victoire*; this would be an account of his "destin tragique," of his "vie douloureuse et meurtrie." Perhaps if this could be done by the right person, with data not now vouchsafed us, Taine the man would come alive again.

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*Bibliographie franco-portugaise: Essai d'une bibliographie chronologique de livres français sur le Portugal.* Par BERNARDO XAVIER C. COUTINHO. Porto, Librairie Lopes da Silva, 1939. Pp. viii+412.

This book presents 2912 titles chronologically arranged from the year 1468 until 1939. In order to facilitate the handling of this volume, there is an alphabetical index of authors with references to the numbers of the corresponding titles. The author seems to have used principally the indexes of the Bibliothèque Nationale. But the majority of the titles are accompanied by observations complementary to the usual data and which reveal a direct contact with the materials mentioned.

The author expressly recognizes the incomplete character of his work, which, notwithstanding its omissions, offers a positive interest as proof of the greater or lesser attention with which French writers have followed on every occasion the developments of Portuguese life. Not only are special works included, but also titles of communications made at learned congresses and magazine articles, though in this respect the omissions are more numerous than in the case of the books.

In tracing the French interest in Portugal, some confusion arises from the inclusion of titles not printed in France and of foreign authors who only accidentally wrote in French. In many cases items published in French, but printed in Portugal and written by Portuguese authors are included. Without abandoning his chronological plan, the author could have made the necessary divisions in order to distinguish these several kinds of material.

No definite rule has been followed in regard to the inclusion of those French works on history, literature, travels, etc. which, dealing with the whole Iberian Peninsula, naturally include Portugal, or of those others which, while referring more especially to Spain, also refer to Portugal in the periods and matters in which the two countries have a common history. There is no special section for translations of Portuguese books into French. On the other hand, there are titles which properly belong in a complementary bibliography of books in Portuguese dealing with France. Among such items one may mention, for instance, number 2395: *Flores de mal: Interpretação em versos portugueses de poesias de Carlos Baudelaire*, Lisboa, 1909, and number 2411: *Mireio: Poema provençal de Frederico Mistral, tradução portuguesa*, Paris, 1910.

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*The Spanish Language, Together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque.* By WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE. New York. Macmillan, 1938. Pp. vi+367.

As the title implies, no phase of Peninsular linguistics has been omitted from this study, which forms part of the English "Great Languages" series.



Ancient Iberian and modern Basque, Catalan, Castilian, standard Spanish, and Portuguese are treated in a fashion which is absorbing, scholarly, often meticulous, and broadly descriptive rather than pedagogical. The extension of Spanish to Spanish America and the Portuguese language overseas form the subject-matter of two additional chapters, which reveal the author's wide acquaintance with the tongues of the South and Central American Indians and the dialectal forms to which Spanish and Portuguese have given rise in Latin America and elsewhere. The volume is enriched by eight linguistic maps, compact appendices on Peninsular phonetics and phonology, and comprehensive indices, which, coupled with the abundant bibliographies appended to each chapter, make the work a most useful one for reference purposes.

The views expressed by Professor Entwistle are at all times provocative, frequently controversial, but everywhere characterized by a quality of poise and a careful balancing of the available evidence which commend the author to all those who hold that the linguistic method should be an inductive one.

Professor Entwistle is not of those who believe that proto-Romance was in existence for many centuries before the Romance languages appeared in recorded form. His listing of the testimony of inscriptional and documentary material up to the eighth century (pages 51-53) is a fearless *exposé*. "These vulgarisms" he concludes, with justifiable assurance, "are typically those of all Romania rather than of Spain in particular, and not infrequently run contrary to later Peninsular speech-habits." His description of the causes and difference in rate of linguistic change (pages 71-77) is a fair and impartial summary of all the major opinions held; but he successfully demonstrates (page 74) that true isolation for the Peninsula began only with the Mohammedan conquest, in 711 A.D.; and, basing himself upon the evidence of facts rather than upon preconceived theories, he courageously asserts (page 106) that at the time of the Moorish invasion the Peninsula was in "a state of linguistic unity," albeit "pregnant with change"; and that "during the eighth century there must have been, apart from the Catalan area, considerable uniformity of language."

Concerning Romance linguistic innovation in general, Professor Entwistle has a word to say (page 57) which may be at variance with certain schools of thought, but appears more and more supported by recent findings: "The most active centre of innovations in Romania was Gaul, where French is found in the eleventh-century *Chanson de Roland* further removed from its parent Latin than Spanish is at the present day. Northern and Central Italian lay more open to French influence than the Peninsula." Later he remarks (page 86): "We may speak therefore once again of a tendency towards a certain change, with France as its centre of radiation, which loses force gradually in passing across the Spanish peninsula, in the sequence Catalan-Aragonese-Castilian-Leonese-Portuguese."

The corollary of this general hypothesis necessarily is that the author refuses to take part in the Catalan controversy on either the Provençal or

the Castilian side, but presents Catalan as a transitional stage between the southern French and the eastern Spanish dialects. He cautions his readers (page 86) that in comparing Catalan with "French" or "Spanish" it is not proper to take Castilian as a criterion of "Spanish" development, since Aragonese, Mozarabic and Leonese, despite their modern unofficial position or complete disappearance, are far more truly representative of Peninsular development. His handling of the entire Catalan problem (pages 60-61, 83-94) displays in full measure the quality of equilibrium which distinguishes the entire work. After pointing to the fact that the transition from Aragonese to Catalan is gradual, but the one from Catalan to Languedocien abrupt, he concludes: "The clear-cut frontier by the Corbières proves that Catalan is a trans-Pyrenean language, and not a dialect of Provençal, however close the two speeches may otherwise stand; the possession of a separate culture and a linguistic centre in the Peninsula, supported by the existence of a band-frontier in Aragon and by the sum total of its differences, cuts off Catalan from Ibero-Romance strictly so called, and shows it to be an independent language of a type approximating to Provençal."

Nowhere do the author's polemic powers appear to such good advantage as in those sections where he discusses and represses, evidence in hand, the far-fetched substratum theories that receive such ready acceptance in certain linguistic circles. In his initial chapter, "Before the Romans" (which, incidentally, contains a very instructive delineation of the chief features of Basque), he remarks (page 27) that "the identification of Basque with 'Iberian' is a matter of conjecture." After this initial shot, he goes on to discuss (page 33) the possibility of an "Iberian" substratum in the Latin of Roman Spain, with scant consolation for substratum believers: "The linguistic deficiencies of the first generation (supposing it is possible to conceive of anything so abstract as a generation) are corrected by the second; for children are wont to acquire languages to perfection." While he admits (pages 36, 160-161) the possibility of Basque influence in the change of *f* to *h* and of *ct* to *it* to *ch*, which this reviewer is tempted to doubt,<sup>1</sup> his ultimate conclusion is: "It is not that Basque has imposed conditions upon those who learned Latin in Spain; but rather that Latin, which presented alternative possibilities of treatment and development sufficient to give all the diversities of Romania, was subjected to the same mental control that had given Basque its special qualities."

The war against the substratum does not cease here. In rejecting (page 64)

1. Faliscan *habam* for *fabam*, Sabine *fircus* for *hircus*, *ircus*, etc., seem to point to the possibility of an independent interchange between *f* and *h*. In more recent times, the appearance of *humare*, *gumara* for *flumaria* in a twelfth-century Calabrian document (*Carta Rossonese*, Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, p. 6), and the current appearance of *hi* for It. *fi* in the province of Reggio (*hiuri* for *fiore*) point to the same possibility of independent interchange. The *ch* development for original *ct* appears in too many Romance dialects that have no possible connection with Basque to have special significance (Lombard *fač* vs. Piedmontese *fajt*, *feit*; Provençal *fač* vs. French *fait*, etc.).

the theory that *mb* > Castilian *m* and *nd* > Catalan-Aragonese *n* were due to the presence of a hypothetical Oscan colony in eastern Spain, he says: "a spontaneous development is by no means impossible," and proves his point by referring to *plummer*, *Lunnon* and *chillun*, without benefit of Oscan intervention. Perhaps he inclines his tongue slightly toward the side of the buccal cavity when he states (page 72): "The substratum-theory has flourished abundantly where the substratum is virtually unknown." But this is no idle fun-poking; it is the warning-shot of a withering barrage of evidence that appears later on in the section devoted to the American substratum (pages 230-231), where a searching comparison is made between the ethnic substratum of Latin in the provinces and that of Spanish in South America, "with the difference that speech-habits which are merely conjectured for Celts or Iberians, can be precisely known for Azteks or Quechuas." What is the conclusion to which an examination of the *known* American substratum leads us? "Not one of all these [American Indian] speech peculiarities has passed into the Spanish of America. Far from conserving their own mental habits while adopting a new vocabulary, the American Mestizos have abandoned their ancient speech-habits but passed on a number of words needed to describe new things and customs. . . . No indigenous sounds have passed over to Spanish. . . . The influence of the American substrata, in short, has done no more than to provide the names for exotic things" (pages 237-238). Professor Entwistle concludes (page 250): "We should expect [in view of the diversity of the American Indian substrata] wide divergences, where only slight ones are found. We should also expect to see reproduced some of the native habits of thought. . . . Actually nothing of the kind occurs; all variations are such as the Spanish language spontaneously offers of itself."

The substratum-theory is wont to be accompanied by that of the superstratum (Spanish = Iberian + Latin + Visigothic, Arabic, etc.). This secondary element is also disposed of by the author (page 249); the immigrants to Spanish America from various parts of Spain have not retained or imposed their original dialects: "The numerous Basque and Galician immigrants of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have not implanted their languages at all, but have gone to strengthen the demand for a Castilian *koiné*."

The parting shot is fired toward the end of the volume (page 283), where the rich series of nasal vowels in Portuguese, which some linguists assume to be of Celtic origin, is described as "of comparatively recent growth; and at all events, not akin to French nasals, which require a considerable depression of the uvula."

In dignified fashion, but with his customary firmness, Professor Entwistle also breaks a lance with those who hold to a clear-cut distinction between "popular" and "learned" words: "Latin is not merely the basis of Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan, but has continued to live with these languages in a sort of symbiosis" (pages 47-48), particularly in the language of the law, of

the church and of the schools; "The terms 'learned' and 'half-learned' . . . need not be given too rarified a sense. To coin a 'learned' word is within the power of any moderately alert speaker of the language, and the conventions that rule are at all times widely known, though not in each century the same."

There is probably some connection between this liberal attitude and the implied disbelief of the author in the rigid working of phonological "laws" which is evident in his statement (page 169), in connection with the initial *fl-* group, that "the question arises whether there are not two possibilities for Lat. *fl-*, viz. *fl-* and Ptg. *fr-*, Sp. *fl-*."

There are very few and very minor points for adverse criticism: Italian *cantarò* (for *canterò*, page 54) is probably a misprint. The derivation (page 63) of Sp. *bogar*, Ptg. *vogar* from a Vulgar Latin *vocare*, Classical *vacare*, appears to run contrary to the bulk of linguistic opinion, which prefers Germanic *wogôn*. The pairing of Provençal *paire* and French *père* in development as going through the stages *tr* > *dr* > *ir* (page 89) does not seem borne out by the evidence for Old French (*pedre* directly > *père*). The statement (page 91) that French and Provençal derive their comparative particle from *plus*, Spanish and Portuguese from *magis*, overlooks the fact that in the oldest French and Provençal documents *mais* is used far more frequently than *plus* in the sense of "more,"<sup>2</sup> and survives even today in specialized expressions (*je n'en puis mais*); even Italy uses *magis* at the outset.<sup>3</sup> In the excellent section on Arabic words in Spanish (pages 125-134), the possibility of Ar. *qaṣr* (> Sp. *alcázar*, page 129) < Lat. *castrum*, and of Ar. *al-ruzz* (> Sp. *arroz*) < Graeco-Latin *oryza* might have been noted, as also perhaps the possibility of *he* in *he aquí* < Lat. imperative *habe* rather than from Ar. *hâ*. The statement (page 154) that "thanks to German, also *k*, which had no acceptance in Latin, came into limited circulation" leaves somewhat in doubt those who recall the frequent occurrence of *k* in the earlier period of Latin, in the inscriptions, and in Classical abbreviations;<sup>4</sup> while the identity "in the rest of the persons" claimed (page 205) for the Lat. perfect subjunctive in *-rim* and future perfect indicative in *-ro* encounters a rather serious difficulty of quantity and accentuation in the first and second persons plural. In rejecting the hypothesis of Cat. *lluna* < \**lūna* (page 88), the author's case would be strengthened by reference to a similar phenomenon in the central and southern Italian dialects.<sup>5</sup> Additional interest would be added to the interesting discussion of "personal" *a* in Spanish (page 210) by reference

2. *Cum peis lor fai il creisent mais*, *Passion du Christ*, l. 498; *a tot jors mais vos so penas livreas*, *Mystère de l'Époux*, l. 80; etc.

3. *Non mangiai ma' mezzo pane*, *Strambotto soldatesco volterrano* of 1158 (Monteverdi, *Testi italiani anteriori al Duecento*, p. 38).

4. *K* for *Caeso*, *KAL* for *Calendae*, *KA* for *capitalis*, *KK* for *castrorum*, *KS* for *carus suis*, etc.

5. Latian, Abbruzzian *llengua*, *lluna*, *juna*, *jume*, etc. (Bertoni, *Italia dialettale*, p. 142).

to the identical, though probably unrelated phenomenon in many Italian dialects.<sup>6</sup>

Such items are, however, absolutely secondary in the discussion of a volume as comprehensive, thorough and well-balanced as is that of Professor Entwistle, who, in this reviewer's opinion, has made a noteworthy and lasting contribution not merely to Spanish linguistics, but to the broader field of Romance Philology.

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6. Bertoni, p. 178.

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